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MICHIGAN HISTORICAL COMMISSION

MICHIGAN HISTORY

LEWIS BEESON, *Editor*

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MICHIGAN HISTORY

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The Kensington Myth Once More

Milo M. Quaife

"... is an extraordinary figure ... he is a great teller of stories, a fiction writer who on a certain amount of fact builds a vivid and absorbing yarn. For a man of his ability and experience he harbors a too puissant imagination."—Jeannette Mirsky

TO THE NORTH.

THE INSCRIPTION OF FIFTY-SIX WORDS plus six numbers carved in stone which was found in 1898 at the base of a small poplar tree near Kensington, Minnesota, has spawned a prolific literary progeny. To uncounted oral addresses and "hundreds" of printed articles, Mr. Hjalmar R. Holand, to whom the rune stone has become a lifetime obsession, now adds his third considerable book;¹ while the published contributions of others to the discussion of the subject comprise a respectable quantity.

A dozen years ago the author and I conducted an informal debate on the subject of the Kensington myth.² In his rejoinder to my criticisms

¹Hjalmar R. Holand, *America, 1355-1364* (Duell, Sloan and Pearce, New York, 1946. xiv, 256 p. Illustrations and maps. \$4.). The statement that Mr. Holand has authored "hundreds of articles" on the rune stone is made by his publishers on the jacket of *Westward From Vinland* (New York, 1940). Dr. George T. Flom (for whom see footnote 2) says the inscription contains fifty-six words and "several numbers." Flom's Report, 105. Mr. Holand states that it has sixty-six words in "Are There English Words on the Kensington Rune Stone?" in *Records of the Past*, 9:240 (September-October, 1910).

²Milo M. Quaife, "The Myth of the Kensington Rune Stone," in the *New England Quarterly*, 7:613-45 (December, 1934); Hjalmar R. Holand, "The 'Myth' of the Kensington Stone," in the *New England Quarterly*, 8:42-62 (March, 1935). Henceforth these articles will be cited by title only. Among the more important of Mr. Holand's additional publications are his article "The Kensington Rune Stone. Is it the Oldest Native Document of American History?" in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 3:153-83 (December, 1919); and his books *The Kensington Stone* (Ephraim, Wisconsin, 1932) and *Westward From Vinland* (New York, 1940). The museum committee of the Minnesota Historical Society in 1910 published a report of its investigation resulting in conclusions favorable to the rune stone. This report appears as "The Kensington Rune Stone," a "Preliminary Report to the Minnesota Historical Society

of it, he complained that I had lowered the standard of scholarly debate by resorting to an *ad hominum* argument. The sufficient answer to this complaint is that he and the rune-stone myth are as closely knit as a pair of Siamese twins. But for him and his forty-year agitation of the subject, there would be no myth to debate. No discussion of its merits can be had apart from those of its creator, and no apology will be presented for canvassing both in the pages which follow.

Since it is manifestly impossible, within the limits of a single article, to traverse hundreds of articles and several books, I am compelled to pass over many things which deserve full presentation. In so far as space permits, however, I shall undertake to present a survey of the development of the myth to its present stage, and of its shortcomings.

The myth had its beginning in 1907 when Mr. Holand, an educated Wisconsin farmer of Norwegian birth, chanced to pay a visit to Kensington and there listened to a story by then ten years old. Briefly stated,³ Olaf Ohman, a Swedish-American farmer, engaged in clearing a portion of his farm, had found the stone beneath a small poplar tree in 1898. Eager neighbors had dug deeply beneath the site in the hope of finding some buried treasure, while the runic inscription had been pronounced fraudulent by the two linguistic scholars⁴ to whom it was submitted for inspection. Since the stone neither pointed the way to buried treasure nor recorded historical information, it was returned to farmer Ohman, who devoted it to the humble service of a barnyard doorstep.

Such was the story told to Mr. Holand in 1907. He was engaged in collecting material for a history of the Norwegians in America and so "with eager expectancy" he called upon Ohman, purchased the stone from him, and carried it back to his Wisconsin home.⁵ Quickly con-

by Its Museum Committee" in the *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 15:221-86 (1915). The report of Dr. Flom, made on behalf of the Philological Society of the University of Illinois, sharply condemning the inscription as a crude modern hoax, was published as "The Kensington Rune Stone" in the *Illinois Historical Society Transactions for the Year 1910*, 105-25 (1912). For convenience these two reports will be cited hereafter as Minnesota Report and Flom's Report.

³For fuller accounts, see the several references cited in footnotes 1 and 2.

⁴These were Mr. O. J. Breda, professor of Scandinavian literature and languages at the University of Minnesota and Mr. George O. Curme, professor of Germanic philology at Northwestern University.

⁵The hope of financial profit to be derived from the stone deserves consideration. For details concerning its purchase for twenty-five dollars and the subsequent estimates of its financial value and disputes over its ownership see Flom's

vincing himself that he had become the owner of a genuine historical record, he began the process of exploitation of it which still continues. Advocacy of the genuineness of the inscription involved the necessity of providing a rational explanation of its contents, and this has now been carried to a point where an extensive narrative of fancied Norse activities in America, covering a decade of time and large section of the Continent, has been evolved. His translation of the inscription, contributed, along with an argument upholding its historical validity, to the Chicago *Skandinaven* of January 17, 1908, reads as follows:

8 Goths and 22 Norwegians upon an exploring journey from Vinland very far West. We had camp by two skerries, one day's journey North from this stone. We were fishing one day, when we returned home we found 10 men red with blood and dead. A.V.M. (Ave Virgo Maria) Save us from the evil.

(We) have 10 men by the sea to look after our Vessel 41 (or 14) days journey from this island. Year 1362.⁶

Additional articles by Mr. Holand and others quickly followed,⁷ thereby attracting attention once more to the subject, with the result that in 1909 investigations of the inscription were undertaken by two

Report, 106 and 119, and Quaife, "Myth of the Kensington Rune Stone," 615. The initial attitude of "eager expectancy" expressed in *Westward From Vinland*, 99 should not pass unnoticed; it has characterized all of Mr. Holand's pronouncements on the subject down to his latest book.

⁶The Chicago *Skandinaven* file being unavailable, I have copied the translation of the inscription given by Mr. Holand in the "First Authoritative Investigation of 'Oldest Native Document in America,'" in the *Journal of American History*, 4:170 (Second Quarter, 1910). Save for the word "out," practically the same translation is given in "Are There English Words on the Kensington Rune Stone?" in *Records of the Past*, 9:240 (September-October, 1910). Minor verbiage aside, the significant changes from this version contained in his most recent one in *America*, 15 are as follows:

1. "from Vinland very far West" to "from Vinland round about the West."
2. "we were fishing one day" to "we were (out) and fished one day."
3. "vessel" to "vessels."
4. "41 (or 14) days' journey" to "14 days journeys."

The obvious reason for the first change is to bolster the author's present theorizing concerning the circumnavigational character of Paul Knutson's imaginary exploration; that for the second change, the insertion of "out," is to lend color to the theory the explorers were traveling by boat; the third change, that from "vessel" to "vessels," seems to lack discernible explanation; the fourth change, the return from "41" days' journey to the original translation of "14," is a necessary consequence of the adoption of the seventy-five mile interpretation of "days journey." The cavalier abandonment of "41" after the learned exposition of this interpretation supplied by Mr. Holand in the "First Authoritative Investigation" in the *Journal of American History*, 4:172 affords one characteristic illustration among many for questioning the supposed scholarly character of all his work.

⁷See Flom's Report, 106, footnotes 5 and 6 for citations of such articles.

learned societies. As agent of the Philological Society of the University of Illinois, Dr. George T. Flom, professor of Scandinavian languages at the university, rendered a scholarly report utterly condemning the inscription on both linguistic and historical grounds; while the museum committee of the Minnesota Historical Society produced an amazingly bumbling argument which has never yet been approved by the society itself, upholding the validity of the inscription. Both reports were published in 1910, but since Dr. Flom had supplied the Minnesota committee with an advance copy of his report, the report of the latter constitutes a rebuttal of portions of the former.

We have no space adequately to traverse the Minnesota Report, but some notice of certain parts of its contents is essential to an understanding of the further development of the myth. Mr. Holand had at first theorized that "these thirty Scandinavians," having concluded to explore America, set sail from Vinland or Nova Scotia up the St. Lawrence River to the rapids at Montreal, where they left their ship in charge of ten of their number, while the remainder⁸ pushed on "up along the great lakes" to the vicinity of Duluth and thence overland two hundred miles across interior Minnesota to Kensington.⁹

The obvious impossibility of making such a journey in fourteen days led Mr. Holland to propose that "14" be transposed to "41," but this would require a like transformation of the digits in "year 1362,"¹⁰ and even the credulous Minnesota committee could not swallow this. Happily, they were relieved from the necessity by the suggestion of Dr.

⁸The inscription may with equal probability be interpreted to mean that the exploring party numbered thirty or twenty men, leaving either twenty or ten survivors after the massacre. Mr. Holand's many discussions have commonly assumed thirty men as the original number; either figure answers the purpose of our present discussion, the only practical difference being that a party of thirty men with equipment would require a larger boat than would a party of twenty; and the larger the vessel, the greater the difficulty of carrying it overland around the chutes and rapids of the Nelson River and across the portages and continental divide of western Minnesota.

⁹See his article "An Explorer's Stone Record Which Antedates Columbus," in *Harper's Weekly*, 53:15 (October 9, 1909); pertinent portion reprinted in Quaife, "Myth of the Kensington Rune Stone," 620.

¹⁰That is, to 3162 or, possibly, 2631. In his rebuttal of my "Myth of the Kensington Rune Stone," Mr. Holand concedes that "mistakes" have been made by himself, Dr. Andrew Fossum, and other advocates of the inscription, comparing them to the alleged similar mistakes of Darwin in working out the theory of evolution. See Holand, "The 'Myth' of the Kensington Stone," 50-51. It would be charitable to characterize his proposal to alter the number given by the runemaster as merely a "mistake," as it would the similar "mistakes" which still continue to be made.

Andrew Fossum of St. Olaf College, that, instead of pursuing the St. Lawrence-Great Lakes-overland route, the Norsemen might have sailed up the Labrador coast and thence into and around Hudson Bay to the mouth of the Nelson River, where they left their ship. This would bring them within about one thousand miles of Kensington (the Minnesota committee fixed the distance at 942 miles), thereby easing the problem of getting them to Kensington in fourteen days.¹¹ But it did not solve it, for although the committee hopefully speculated that the trip could be made in canoes in fourteen days "by traveling at the rate of 67 miles per day," the practical impossibility of such an exploit still remained obvious.

Meanwhile, abetted by Mr. Holand and Dr. Fossum, the committee grappled with the problem of identifying the massacre site. Assuming that a day's journey overland meant a progress of twenty or twenty-five miles, our modern explorers began a search for a lake with the tell-tale "2 skerries" at this distance northward from Kensington. The search was quickly successful. A local preacher led Mr. Holand to the shore of Pelican Lake in Grant County¹² where a point jutted into the lake for a half a mile. Taking their stand at its outer end they saw two rocks sticking above the water, the nearest one one hundred feet distant, the second one two hundred feet. Although Minnesota's thousands of lakes contain uncounted thousands of rocks lying in, under, and around the water, Mr. Holand was able instantly to indentify these two as the skerries he was seeking. He reported:

About 100 feet straight out beyond the ness lay a large rock or skerry, barely visible above the water. About 100 feet beyond lay another and larger skerry more exposed. In straight line with these and about 500 feet beyond lay a large island.

Here, plainly enough lay the two skerries mentioned in the inscription, and here beneath our feet was the fatal camping ground where these 10 men of 1362 lost their lives. All the topographical circumstances fit perfectly.¹³

¹¹See Minnesota Report, 247-48. First propounded by Fossum in the *Northfield Norwegian American*, October 22, 1909.

¹²Flom confused this with another Pelican Lake lying in Otter Tail County some seventy miles north of Kensington. See Flom's Report, 121 and Minnesota Report, 247. Oddly enough, this is but two or three miles distant from Cormorant Lake, to which ten years later Mr. Holand was to move the skerries.

¹³Published in Northfield, Minnesota, newspapers about November 20 and in the *Chicago Skandinaven* November 29, 1909. Despite this positive identification of the skerries, within six months Mr. Holand was representing to another body of readers that the skerries he had discovered were the dry-land boulders in

Unfortunately, however, Mr. Holand neglected to inform the Minnesota committee that he had found not two, but a dozen or more rocks, clustered about in the lake, and when Newton H. Winchell, a member of the committee, visited the scene, he promptly discarded the rocks Mr. Holand had selected as the skerries as utterly impossible landmarks, and in their place selected two boulders lying on the end of the point. To be sure, these were not skerries, but the committee observed that "528 years ago" the lake level was somewhat higher than it is now, which fact "would have brought these stones into the water."¹⁴

Although the Minnesota committee had brought the Norsemen to Kensington by interpreting a "day's journey" as sixty-seven miles and had identified the massacre site by interpreting it as twenty, it completed its sixty-five page report without attempting to reconcile this discrepancy.

Nor did Mr. Holand, until a decade had passed. In 1914 William Hovgaard's *Voyages of the Norsemen to North America* was published, containing the information that in medieval nautical Norse terminology a day's sail amounted to seventy-five miles for twelve hours

fact selected by Newton H. Winchell. See the "First Authoritative Investigation," in the *Journal of American History*, 4:181-82.

Webster defines a skerry as "a rocky isle; an insulated rock or reef." To Mr. Holand and the Minnesota committee in 1909 a skerry was evidently any rock projecting from the water. In *The Kensington Stone*, 135, and elsewhere, other and varying definitions are supplied. At the time of the original search for the skerries in 1909, Fossum selected another massacre site on Lake Christina, a few miles east of Pelican Lake, but his choice was overruled by the Minnesota committee. See Warren Upham, "The Kensington Rune Stone, Its Discovery, Its Inscriptions, and Opinions Concerning Them" in *Records of the Past*, 9:6 (January-February, 1910). This is a convenient illustration of the ease with which lakes with rocks in them can be found in western Minnesota. The naivete which characterizes Mr. Holand's further identifications is also conveniently illustrated by this first one. All that had been found was a lake with two rocks in it (actually many more than the two reported), yet "all the topographical circumstances fit perfectly." With like simple assurance another massacre site is subsequently chosen (see *post*, 136), while campsites are identified by rocks with holes in them which no one has ever seen but which might be found if someone should turn the rocks over; and other sites by rocks which sometime in the last six hundred years have "bounced" away beyond possibility of present-day discovery, taking their imaginary holes with them. See *post*, 153-55.

¹⁴Minnesota Report, 227-28 and map facing 221. Mr. Holand in 1935 sought to explain this misrepresentation of the actual geographical facts by saying that the lake was rough on the day he viewed it, and calm when Winchell visited it a few weeks later. See his "The 'Myth' of the Kensington Stone," 51. Yet his first skerry was only one hundred feet distant, and the second one but two hundred feet. Comment upon this explanation seems supererogatory.

or 150 miles for twenty-four, and in 1918 Fossum published his *Norse Discovery of America* in which he discussed Hovgaard's findings. So the conception that instead of twenty miles, a "day's journey" might be interpreted as seventy-five or 150 by the convenient process of describing overland travel in terms employed on ships at sea, percolated down to Mr. Holand.¹⁵

In 1919, therefore, he returned to print with a comprehensive defense of the runic inscription in which for the first time the argument was advanced that by "day's journey" the runemaster intended the nautical sailing term of seventy-five miles; fourteen days, therefore, would mean fourteen times eighty miles, or 1120, which "agrees very well with actual facts."¹⁶

¹⁵Hovgaard's interpretation was neither exact nor particularly novel. As early as 1837 Karl C. Raffn's *Antiquitates Ameracanae*, a work familiar to all special students of Scandinavian-American history, supplied the information that a day's sail was twenty-seven to thirty Danish miles, equal to 108 to 120 English miles. Hovgaard's figure of seventy-five miles for a twelve-hour day is merely his average estimate based upon several medieval statements ranging from sixty to ninety-four miles; and he adds that "unfortunately the meaning of the word day is not altogether certain, since there are some cases where it was meant to comprise 24 hours." See chapter four of his *Voyages of the Norsemen to North America*. Even if we accept all of Hovgaard's interpretations as conclusively established (which the author himself does not pretend) it will be seen that there is nothing precise about the figure seventy-five miles as the equivalent of a day's sail. In view of this consideration, and of others to be noted presently, the ease with which Mr. Holand located the required skerries just seventy-three miles north of the runestone site is indeed remarkable. See his "The 'Myth' of the Kensington Stone," 51.

Despite his mastery of Scandinavian lore, many of Mr. Holand's rune-stone discoveries have been curiously belated. It was Fossum who conceived the Hudson Bay-Nelson River-route theory, which Mr. Holand promptly adopted. Despite Mr. Holand's presumed familiarity with Raffn's work, it was Fossum again who belatedly brought forward the Hovgaard interpretation of day's journey as a nautical term meaning seventy-five or 150 miles, a perverted application of which Mr. Holand immediately proclaimed. Again, over twenty years followed his discovery of the Cormorant Lake "mooring holes" before he conceived the idea that, instead of marching overland, the fourteenth-century Norsemen had sailed across Minnesota in a yawl boat. Still again, although he had been exploiting the supposed Paul Knutson expedition for more than twenty years in 1940, when *Westward From Vinland* was published, not until after Mr. Philip A. Means published *Newport Tower* in 1942 did he reveal any connection between that celebrated relic and the Knutson expedition.

¹⁶Holand, "The Kensington Rune Stone," in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 3:176-78 (December, 1919). Since ships at sea do not ordinarily camp for the night, the twenty-four hour, 150 mile interpretation would have been equally logical. More recently, when it suited his geographical argument to do so, Mr. Holand has employed this figure to enable the placing of Vinland in southern New England. See *America*, 215-26. For Dr. Laurence M. Larson's refutation of the absurdity of applying nautical terms to descriptions of overland travel, see "The Kensington Rune Stone" in *Minnesota History*, 17:20-37 (March, 1936). Since Mr. Holand had long since accepted the Hudson Bay-

The new interpretation, of course, made the Pelican Lake skerries useless, and so Mr. Holand set forth one summer day in 1919 in search of another set.¹⁷ And again he was not disappointed. Going by train to Detroit Lakes in southwestern Becker County, some seventy-five miles north of Kensington, he there detrained, and although the region is spangled with lakes and these in turn with rocks, soon found his way to one which undeniably boasted two skerries. Like stout Cortez, "silent, upon a peak in Darien," from a hilltop he gazed down upon Cormorant Lake and there, in a straight line before him, he saw two skerries!¹⁸ "No one," he continued, "who has stood upon [this hill] and has seen these two remarkable skerries lying in a straight line before him can doubt that these are the right skerries. Nor could the runemaster have found a better topographical mark of identification to describe the location of his camp."¹⁹

Nelson River theory of the route followed by the fourteenth-century travelers on their journey from the sea to Kensington, adoption of the 150 mile interpretation of "day's journey" was manifestly impracticable. By returning to his own original theory of the St. Lawrence-Great Lakes-overland route, however, plus use of the 150 mile interpretation, he would have neatly resolved the difficulty of getting the Norsemen to Kensington in fourteen days and at the same time would have spared himself the embarrassment inherent in the vain effort to rationalize the Hudson Bay-Nelson River route. We venture to suggest that the merits of the St. Lawrence-Great Lakes-overland route theory are such as to justify giving it another day in court.

¹⁷Flom had predicted this development in 1910. Flom's Report, 120-21. The new exploration was reported in Holand, "Further Discoveries Concerning the Kensington Rune Stone," in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 3:332-38 (March, 1920), and was repeated, with elaborations of detail, in *The Kensington Stone*, 140-41, and *Westward From Vinland*, 192-97. In the latter book Mr. Holand even denies that the Pelican Lake skerries and massacre site had ever been identified. Describing the original search for the skerries mentioned in the inscription he states: "The skerries are said in the inscription to be one day's journey north of the place where the rune stone was found. Assuming that a day's journey would be the distance a group of travelers would travel in a day, these skerries ought to be found from 15 to 30 miles north of Kensington.

"With this thought in mind an extensive search was made of all the lakes lying between fifteen and thirty miles north of the finding place of the stone *but without success* [my italics]. The question *then* [my italics] arose What did the writer mean by the term *daghrise* (day's journey)?" The final sentence quoted embalms still a second misstatement. The Pelican Lake skerries were proclaimed in 1909 and no search for another massacre site was undertaken until 1919, after Mr. Holand had learned, through Fossum's publication, the interpretation of "day's journey" which Hovgaard had published five years before.

¹⁸*Westward From Vinland*, 194. Keats, too, was a bit careless in dealing with humdrum facts. It was really Balboa who discovered the Pacific.

¹⁹Holand, "Further Discoveries," in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 3:333. "Here, plainly enough, lay the two skerries mentioned in the inscription . . . all the topographical circumstances fit perfectly," he had written in 1909 of his Pelican Lake windy-day skerries; now, "no one" can doubt that the

So the second massacre site was identified, and along with it two additional discoveries were made. At the base of the hill, not far from the water lay two rocks in which there were small holes, and the ingenious theory that these were "mooring-stone" holes drilled by the Norsemen of 1362 was presently evolved.²⁰ The subsequent remarkable development of the mooring-stone theory will be noted on a later page.

Since there could be "no doubt" that the Norsemen took time to bury their dead in decent fashion, the next step in the investigation was to find the burial spot. The original report describes how this was done.

As we stood upon the hill of the camp site, Mr. Johnson pointed out a small knoll, about sixty rods back from the lake and said, "Someone is surely buried over there."

"Why?"

"Because there are several sunken graves on that knoll."

We went over to the knoll and found that there really were a number of "sunken graves" on the knoll . . . I made no excavations and requested Mr. Johnson not to disturb the mound until it can be excavated in a scientific manner. This will probably be done next spring.

When, however, in 1934 I ventured to inquire why the years continued to pass while no effort was made to open the graves, Mr. Holand denied that he had ever said they had been found, the nearest approach to an identification being his statement in *The Kensington Stone* that "the precise site of the fatal camp is probably circumscribed within a few acres," and to excavate such an area "would be a colossal task cost-

new skerries are the right ones. Note, however, that the runemaster says nothing about the skerries being in a "straight line," hence any location from which two rocks in the water are visible meets his description quite as well as the site now "identified."

²⁰One hole was three-fourths of an inch deep and an inch in diameter; the other was triangular and seven inches deep. Holand, "Further Discoveries," in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 3:334. In *Westward From Vinland*, 198, and *America*, 137-42, slightly different dimensions are given. The two latter accounts also state that the holes were discovered at the time of the second visit to the site. Whatever the precise time may have been, the narrative shows that the explorers were looking for wonders and expecting to find them. Thus, "John Johnson, owner of the farm, came to us in great excitement and said he had found a stone which had a strange looking hole chiselled in its upper surface." *Westward From Vinland*, 198. This was the three-fourths inch deep hole. Johnson lived in a region where rocks are abundant and drilling holes in them for the purpose of blasting is commonplace. Why, then, the "great excitement" over the "strangeness" of the discovery?

ing thousands of dollars."²¹ So the putative dead men still rest undisturbed, even as the business of writing and publishing books about them still continues.

Still another innovation of this period was the discovery of Paul Knutson. He is reputed to have been a trusted official of King Magnus Erickson of Norway and Sweden who reigned, subject to numerous interruptions, from 1319 to 1373. Although the king's intentions were usually good, he was one of the least competent and most unfortunate rulers known to European history. For Norway, it was a period of general economic decay and of civil and dynastic strife, heightened, no doubt, by the ravages of the Black Death. Voyages to England became infrequent and for long periods contacts with the Greenland colony ceased altogether. Although Mr. Holand endeavors to show that there was something of a revival, beginning about 1342, the evidence he has been able to amass makes but a sorry showing. Most pertinent items are a secondhand report that the settlers of West Greenland had backslidden from the Christian faith, or perhaps removed to America,²² and a sixteenth-century copy of a supposed order issued by King Magnus in October, 1354, appointing Knutson as commander of a ship which was to sail to Greenland on the mission of preserving Christianity there.²³

²¹See Holand, "Further Discoveries," in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 3:338, for the sunken graves discovery. For my inquiry concerning them and Mr. Holand's denial see Quaife, "Myth of the Kensington Rune Stone," 626, and Holand, "The 'Myth' of the Kensington Stone," 58.

²²Conflicting translations of the Latin document have been advanced. Hovgaard's explanation of the pertinent sentences from the report of 1342 is: "The inhabitants of Greenland voluntarily forsook the true faith and the Christian religion, after having abandoned all good morals and true virtues, and were converted to the peoples of America [*ad Americae populos se converterunt*]. This statement has been interpreted by some to mean that the Norsemen emigrated to America, but it seems more likely that they associated with the Eskimos and adopted their mode of living." *Voyages of the Norsemen*, 44. Mr. Holand upholds the theory that they migrated to America, and makes it the cornerstone of his entire Paul Knutson American safari. The annals quoted from were written "from memory," by a churchman in the seventeenth century. For Dr. Laurence M. Larson's comment upon this and upon Mr. Holand's "remarkable" use of historical materials in general, see Larson, "The Kensington Rune Stone," in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 4:382-87 (1920-21).

²³For Mr. Holand's translation of the document see *Westward From Vinland*, 90-91. With respect to its contents, it should be noted that he repeatedly attributes to it provisions which the most careful reading of the document does not disclose; for example, the statement that Knutson's crew was to be made up of both Norwegians and Swedes. It may be noted further that while Mr. Holand

Henceforward the records are silent concerning Paul Knutson. Whether he ever sailed for Greenland is highly problematical, and if he did we do not know whether he ever arrived. Even Mr. Holand assumes that he could not have set sail until the spring of 1355, and many things may have happened between October and April to alter the plans of a monarch as hard pressed and poverty-stricken as was Magnus Erickson.²⁴ In short, the entire story of the Knutson expedition can be summed up in a single sentence: If it ever started, we know nothing of what it accomplished.

Yet Mr. Holand, beginning in 1919, from a complete absence of documents, has evolved an extensive narrative of travels and achievements covering a large part of North America and almost a decade of time. Compared with this exploit, the miracle of the loaves and fishes pales to insignificance. According to the narrative, now set forth in three successive books, Knutson came to Greenland only to find the western settlement vacant of inhabitants—their fate a mystery to the present moment. But instead of returning to his monarch with this report, the redoubtable Paul set out in pursuit of the supposed renegades.²⁵ Knowing that they must have gone westward or southwestward, "as there was no other place to go," he followed them to Vinland, which as recently as 1940 was the southern shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, but which now (1946) is the southern coast of New England.²⁶

formerly characterized the crew as composed of semi-illiterate soldiers and sailors gathered from hither and yon, in more recent years they have become the elite young aristocrats of the two kingdoms. Compare Holand, "The Kensington Rune Stone," in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 3:159 and *America*, 119, 129-30.

²⁴To mention one or two of them, in 1354 he met defeat in his attempted invasion of Russia, in 1355 he was excommunicated by the Pope for failure to pay his debts, he had been only the nominal ruler of Norway since 1355, whose throne his son Haakon Magnusson mounted this year, while in 1356 his other son, Erik, conducted a successful rebellion in Sweden. Incidentally, one may reasonably ask why the king should issue a sailing order in October which he himself knew could not be carried out until the following year. The common-sense answer is that he didn't. If Knutson ever sailed at all, we must assume the time to have been 1354.

²⁵This, although the eastern settlement numbering several thousand inhabitants and a dozen churches or more was still intact and loyal to the Church, and the supposed renegades of the western settlement, whom Paul pursued with determination for several years, numbered, according to Mr. Holand's estimate, but two hundred persons. *Westward From Vinland*, 84.

²⁶See *Westward From Vinland*, 138 and following, and *America*, appendix A.

But a search of several years duration conducted from the imaginary base of operations on the Vinland coast²⁷ turned up no errant Greenlanders. "Eventually," therefore, Paul concluded that they "were not in those parts," and, although none too quick on the trigger, surmised that instead of migrating southward they had sought a northerly region.²⁸ So, since the apostates must be found "unless God had struck them dead in their iniquity," he must follow the coastline until he found them. So he sailed northward perhaps two thousand miles, up the Labrador coast and through Hudson Strait into the great bay, whose eastern and southern shores he coasted for perhaps another two thousand miles, until he came to the Nelson River.²⁹

Here Paul underwent a remarkable transformation. Although he had spent several years around the Gulf of St. Lawrence,³⁰ until he came to the mouth of the Nelson he had innocently supposed North America to be an island, which he was trying to sail around. But sight of the vast discharge of the Nelson served at last to enlighten him, even though long familiarity with the similar discharge of the St. Lawrence had not. America was no "island," and the quest for the apostate Greenlanders was hopeless. Would Paul now return to Sweden to report to King Magnus the failure of his mission of several years? By no means. Fired by memories of the adventures of Marco Polo and other Asiatic travelers, he would exchange the pursuit of heretics and "celestial glory" for the more worldly enterprise of explor-

²⁷The Gulf of St. Lawrence in 1940 and earlier; Narragansett Bay and Newport, in 1946.

²⁸For accounts of Knutson's imagined movements see *The Kensington Stone*, chapter 6 and *Westward From Vinland*, chapter 13. As recently as 1940 in *Westward From Vinland*, 138 the Greenlanders must have migrated "West or Southwest as there was no other place to go."

²⁹Note here another baseless assumption, that King Magnus had issued an order for the pursuit of the "apostates." The order, as we have it, merely expresses the royal determination not to permit Christianity to perish in Greenland. But only about two hundred Greenlanders had vanished from the western settlement while several thousand with a dozen churches remained in the eastern one according to Mr. Holand's figures. The obvious way for Paul to preserve Christianity in Greenland was to strengthen and safeguard this major settlement instead of setting off upon a several-years' search of an as yet unimagined continent for the insignificant number of settlers who had disappeared. Neither royal order nor simple common sense dictated his imaginary procedure.

³⁰According to *Westward From Vinland* (1940), 139-40; or at Nantucket Sound, *Ibid.*, 48-50; or at Newport, *America* (1946), 16-17 and appendix A. Mr. Holand's observation in *America*, 213 that "there is some difference of opinion as to the location of Vinland," seems amply fortified by his own varying identifications of it.

ing, for the honor of his king, "this great continent."³¹ Moreover, Paul was assistant collector of the royal revenues for the western islands, and "as this new country might in time become a taxpaying colony of the King there was urgent reason for exploring it."³² A further consideration was the fact that he could not continue northward along the western side of Hudson Bay for fear of approaching winter, while by ascending the Nelson to its headwaters and crossing thence to those of the St. Lawrence he could return overland with relative ease to Vinland.³³ So, leaving ten men with the ship or ships,³⁴ the remaining thirty journeyed southward to Cormorant Lake (or Pelican Lake) where ten were massacred in camp, while the others were "out" fishing.

The twenty survivors, after burying their dead, moved southward to Kensington where on an island in a lake they tarried for several days to carve the runic inscription. They then either returned to Vinland and Norway or went permanently native by coalescing with the Mandan Indians, whose features and nineteenth-century earth-covered huts disclose unmistakable evidence of medieval Norse physiognomy and architecture.

³¹*Westward From Vinland*, 140. Modern psychiatrists endeavor, with more or less success, to interpret the minds of patients under direct examination. Mr. Holand's ability to read the mind of an obscure character who lived and died six hundred years ago should be commended to their attention.

³²*The Kensington Stone*, 87. Larson in 1936 ridiculed this imaginative gem in "The Kensington Rune Stone," in *Minnesota History*, 17:29-30 (March, 1936) and it was not repeated in *Westward From Vinland*, published in 1940.

³³See Holand, "The Kensington Rune Stone," in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 3:170-71; *The Kensington Stone*, 85-86. The many repetitions of the fantasy that the Norsemen here decided to ascend the Nelson in order to get back to Vinland conveniently ignore the fact that the lower Nelson flows easterly rather than northerly (formal scientific surveys of the region speak of the "north" and the "south" sides of the river, instead of the east and west). As far as Paul and his companions could know, therefore, its ascent was more likely to lead them to the Pacific Ocean and China than eastward to Vinland. Still another slight physical difficulty has been ignored by our rune-stone romancers. If approaching winter rendered the navigation of Hudson Bay impossible, how could the Norsemen navigate the inland rivers and lakes of Manitoba and Minnesota which are also known to freeze over on occasion?

³⁴The extant version of King Magnus' order for the expedition speaks of one ship. Translators of the runic inscription seem uncertain whether the latter employs the plural or singular form of "ship." Mr. Holand, adopting the plural interpretation, improvises the information that, foreseeing the need of smaller vessels for use in shallow waters, Knutson took along "two or more light war vessels . . . propelled by oars." *Westward From Vinland*, 144. By 1946 he had discovered that the inland tourists navigated Minnesota in a yawl boat equipped with a sail. *America*, vii, 136, 156, 159, 173.

Such remained the end of the Paul Knutson story until 1946.³⁵ In 1942, two years after *Westward from Vinland* was published, Philip A. Means brought out his *Newport Tower*, in which the argument is exploited that this ancient structure, instead of having been built as a windmill by Governor Arnold about 1675, is in fact a Norse round church, inspired by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, and built by settlers of Vinland in the twelfth or thirteenth century. Although Mr. Holand now tells us that he collaborated with Mr. Means in the preparation of his book, his own *Westward From Vinland* published in 1940 contains no single word about the Newport Tower or identifying Paul Knutson's "fortified" headquarters with Newport. But in 1946 we learn that the tower was built by the portion of Knutson's party which remained at "headquarters" in Vinland, awaiting the return of the Minnesota tourists. To this theme, and to the further marked development of new mooring stones and other "corroborative finds," his new book, *America, 1355-1364*, is chiefly devoted.

I am no authority on either New England local history or Medieval Norse religious architecture; nor, evidently, was Mr. Means, whose self-supplied biography in *Who's Who in America* discloses that his

³⁵This too brief outline falls far short of doing justice to our author's lively recital, replete with improbable or self-contradictory assumptions. For example, in 1919, when the "mooring stones" were first introduced, the Norsemen were traveling overland, and they had gone "out" fishing on a raft too heavy to lift from the water; hence the mooring stones. Holand, "Further Discoveries," in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 3:335. By 1940 they had a "boat," and by 1946 a "yawl boat" equipped with a sail. *Westward From Vinland*, 202-204 and *America*, vii, 136, 156, 159, 173-74. We are not told how such a vessel could sail up the tumultuous Nelson, with its many chutes and rapids; nor how the boat, while too heavy to be lifted from the water over night, could yet be carried over numerous portages and up considerable heights. In *Westward From Vinland*, 207, Mr. Holand is sure that Cormorant Lake in 1362 was nine feet higher than in 1930. The skerries were then, also, nine feet above the water. But in 1919 they were "about 5 feet" above it. Holand, "Further Discoveries," in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 3:337; *The Kensington Stone*, 153; *Westward From Vinland*, 194. Note that in the latter reference they are five feet high on page 194 and nine feet a dozen pages later. If we assume the earlier figure to be correct, how could the Norsemen see the skerries in 1362, when they were four feet under water? And since this was so, the putative Cormorant Lake massacre site necessarily "falls flat" also.

Again, the word "out" on whose interpretation so much is made to depend, is not found in the runic inscription. Mr. Holand's own translation gives it as his editorial insertion; his earlier one did not give it at all, and Flom's merely reads "we were a-fishing one day." But one can go fishing along the bank as well as out to sea, and the statement affords no necessary inference that the Norsemen had either a raft or a boat.

life was chiefly devoted to the study of archaeology in Central and South America. Two acknowledged authorities on New England history are George P. Winship and Lawrence C. Wroth. Mr. Winship wrote, of Means' book, one of the most devastating reviews ever published in the *American Historical Review*.³⁶ Mr. Wroth's review is more favorable,³⁷ as is the unusually lengthy notice accorded Mr. Means' study in *The New England Quarterly*,³⁸ although none of the reviewers is convinced of the validity of the Means' thesis.

Mr. Holand, wholly certain of its validity, assumes the further task of proving that the tower was planned as a fourteenth-century, fortified church which was built by Knutson's men to serve as their headquarters during the continental tour of the party which visited Hudson Bay and Minnesota.

Concerning this labored and apparently learned argument it is sufficient to observe that it is all dependent upon the fanciful narrative concerning Knutson's supposed expedition. As to this, we do not even know that Knutson ever visited Greenland; if we assume that he did, we know nothing of his further movements or fate. It follows, as a matter of course, that whoever built the Newport Tower, or when, the elaborate attempt to fix the honor upon Paul Knutson's party is futile.

It remains to take note of the "corroborative finds" and of the truly astonishing development which the mooring-stone fantasy has now assumed. The mentality which can see skerries where none exist, or perceive evidence of medieval Norse architecture alike in Mandan earthen huts and Newport Towers, can with like readiness identify rusty axes, fire steels, and other supposed archaeological finds as having the same undoubted medieval Norse origin. Although we lack space to traverse all of the lengthy arguments concerning the many "finds," comment may be offered concerning a few of them.

The Climax fire steel.³⁹ Fire steels were a necessity of life prior to the invention of the friction match. They were a staple article of the Indian trade, since the Indian, like the white man, had to build fires,

³⁶*American Historical Review*, 48:757-59 (July, 1943).

³⁷*Rhode Island History*, 2:37-39 (January, 1943).

³⁸*The New England Quarterly*, 15:523-28 (September, 1942); reviewed by Mr. G. Andrus Moriarty.

³⁹See *Westward From Vinland*, 215-18.

and thousands were supplied to the natives every year. The Climax steel is represented to have been unearthed in 1871 with a posthole augur, by a farmer engaged in building a fence on a dry knoll, and with it ashes and charcoal were found.⁴⁰ The very finder states that it "is just the same size and form as my grandmother used 65 or 66 years ago," and continues with a description of how it is used. Whether an example of the steels supplied to the Indian trade or one brought to Minnesota by a nineteenth-century Norwegian settler, there is thus no conceivable reason for pretending that it is of medieval origin.

The Norwegian axes.⁴¹ One ax is supposed to have been found near Republic in northern Michigan some time in the later nineteenth century. Of it, the possessor in 1936 reported: "This ax was found about the year 1880, possibly in 1878, by a man, probably a prospector, as he stooped to take a drink from a small stream near Republic. . . ." The finder sold it to a collector at Marquette, who some years later sold it to a brother of the 1936 owner, from whom the 1936 owner "eventually obtained it with his collection of ancient copper tools, silver crosses of Jesuit origin, and other relics of the Lake region." The curio dealer, had labeled it as a Spanish ax, "although why he did not ascribe it to the French who were so numerous in that region is strange." An object with such a pedigree would not deserve consideration but for the certitude with which Mr. Holand determines it to be "an exact duplicate" of a medieval ax in the great museum at Lillehammer, Norway, and "apparently . . . made by the same armorer"; in short, it can be nothing else than a medieval battle-ax. However, Dr. Stefan Einarsson, professor of Scandinavian philology at Johns Hopkins University, disposes of all this by stating that practically identical axes are still in use in Norway for purposes of ordinary carpentry.⁴²

But suppose we assume it to be a veritable medieval battle-ax made by the same workman who shaped the Lillehammer ax? Republic, Michigan, is distant several hundred miles from the putative route our fourteenth-century tourists followed. This is also true of the Cambridge, Wisconsin, "battle axe," supposed to have been found by a farmer boy

⁴⁰*Westward From Vinland*, 216. The elevation and the presence of charcoal and ashes indicate the location of a camp or village site.

⁴¹*Westward From Vinland*, 218-29.

⁴²*Speculum*, 8:402-403 (July, 1933).

some twenty years earlier.⁴³ Distance from the route of the Norsemen, however, does not daunt Mr. Holand, who readily explains that the "finding place" of such implements is immaterial, since Indians might have carried them far from the spot where the white man lost them.⁴⁴ Yet in the case of the Climax fire steel and various other "finds," proximity to the putative route of the Norsemen is assumed to prove the objects were lost by them.

The Brandon, Minnesota, ax had a discoverer, John W. Nelson, whose memory should not be permitted to perish. He died about the year 1915 and at the auction of his effects Mr. Holand's informant saw and apparently purchased it. He "personally knew Mr. Nelson who was one of the earliest settlers of Douglas County. He wore very long hair and lived much like an Indian." Another affiant relates that the Indians liked Nelson, and continues: "He was of the Wild West type, with long whiskers and long dark hair that reached down over his shoulders." So it is attested that Nelson liked the Indians and vice versa and that they had given the ax to him. Although Mr. Holand grants that it is so well preserved that "the first impression one has on seeing it is that it cannot possibly be 600 years old," he yet feels confident that it is.⁴⁵ Dr. Einarsson, however, discloses that the picture and

⁴³"The axe was found 18 inches deep in the ground while Oscar was forking potatoes." *America*, 196 and following. Here attention may be called to Mr. Holand's habitually careless use of figures. Potatoes do not grow eighteen inches deep, and if they did can one believe that after the lapse of twenty years this farmer boy had any real knowledge how deep this particular hill was? Elsewhere Mr. Holand tells us that the mooring-stone hole first discovered at Cormorant Lake is one-half inch deep, three-fourths of an inch deep, one and one-fourth inches deep, and one and one-half inches deep (*Westward From Vinland*, 198; "Further Discoveries," in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 3:334; and *America*, 142. The latter reference tells of two holes, one-half and one and one-half inches deep); while the skerries were either nine feet above the lake, or five or six feet, or five feet or less. *Westward From Vinland*, 194, 207; *The Kensington Stone*, 154; and "Further Discoveries," in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 3:337.

⁴⁴*Westward From Vinland*, 221.

⁴⁵*Westward From Vinland*, 226-27. The condition of this ax calls for further comment. The Holand theory requires us to believe that it was preserved by Indians for five hundred years or more, until it was finally presented by them to Nelson in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Yet the illustration reproduced in *Westward From Vinland*, plate 24, shows it to be still in perfect condition, the edge unmarred by a single nick. Stone Age Indians had desperate need of edged tools and the white men who first brought iron implements to them were regarded as gods. Yet we are asked to believe that this eminently useful edged tool was preserved by them unused for half a thousand years. Here, as often elsewhere, Mr. Holand's theory outrages normal common sense.

description of an ax in current use on Nagu Island off the coast of Finland "is almost an exact replica" of Mr. Holand's Brandon and Erdahl axes.⁴⁶ So it would seem that we have here an instance where one's "first impression" is correct.

The Ulen and Hibbing swords. Comments on these two "medieval" finds may be conveniently grouped together. Both were uncovered by ploughing, the Ulen sword in 1911, the Hibbing fragment in 1942.⁴⁷ Although the finder of the Hibbing relic merely says that while engaged in plowing, one of the horses "stepped on the object," which was later found to be a sword hilt, Mr. Holand three pages later assures us that it was found "deep in the soil by the first man that cleared the timber which grew above it." Passing this invention, we note that the two museum directors from whom he sought expert opinions both thought the sword was of the Foot Artillery type adopted by the United States Army in 1830; while the curator of history at the Smithsonian Institution, author of a book on American and European swords, thought it "a theatrical weapon," and "not a standard military weapon." After which Mr. Holand rejects both opinions and finds the weapon "identical" in type with Scandinavian swords of the thirteenth to the fifteenth century.⁴⁸

We notice the Ulen sword merely to illustrate the facility displayed by Mr. Holand in improvising historical backgrounds. The end of the blade is missing, the portion remaining being sixteen inches long. The only deduction the observer of normal mind and vision can make

⁴⁶For the story of the Erdahl ax see *Westward From Vinland*, 221-25.

⁴⁷See *Westward From Vinland*, 235 and following, and *America*, 178 and following for accounts of these "finds."

⁴⁸Worthy of notice is his statement that it "may date from a remote period, before military weapons were standardized by mass production, when each man went to his armorer and had his sword made to order." Yet in arguing for the mediocrity of his Trempealeau County spearhead, he assures us that "It is an error to suppose that 'individual smiths had their own patterns.' The shape of the spear, which in the Middle Ages was almost as much a part of a man's attire as a necktie is now, was prescribed by well-established national customs." *Westward From Vinland*, 231.

Overruling his own experts is no new habit with Mr. Holand. Following his return from Europe in 1911, where he had taken the rune stone to appeal from the adverse opinions of American scholars upon it to the final judgment of the great center of Scandinavian learning, he explained their unanimous condemnation of the rune stone by a published aspersion of their scholarly character. See Quaife, "Myth of the Kensington Rune Stone," 619; Holand, "The Kensington Rune Stone Abroad," in *Records of the Past*, 10:260-71 (September-October, 1911); Flom's Report, 125.

is that the blade has been broken and its lower end is missing. To Mr. Holand, however, it is clear that an Indian undertook to pound the blade in two with a round-headed hammer, and failing, snapped off the end. "This indicates that an Indian was the blacksmith. If an Indian acquired it, let us say at the massacre of Cormorant Lake about 20 miles away, he would feel that his booty was insignificant because a sword is not an Indian weapon. But soon he would see that a part of the blade made a good hunting knife, and he appears to have taken his stoneheaded tomahawk to break the blade in two. . . ."

The Thief River Falls axe. In June, 1919, a rusty iron ax was found in the garden of Ole Sandruss near Thief River Falls, Minnesota.⁴⁹ Although the implement is "typologically of the late Middle Ages," Mr. Holand concedes that it may have been brought to Minnesota in the nineteenth century; which leaves no occasion for further discussion, save to note that here for once is a clear admission of the fact, familiar to all historical museum workers, that immigrants from the Old World frequently brought furniture, tools, and other personal property to America, nor was such bringing confined to the single instance of this discarded ax.

The admission noted brings us to another which is no less significant. Included among the latest "finds" is an ax found near Alexandria, Minnesota, about 1923. Although this ax was found "about 3 feet under the ground, entangled in the roots of a very large old oak,"⁵⁰ and although its form and appearance is undeniably that of a medieval halberd or battle-ax, several scholars "were unfavorable to the idea that it was an ancient weapon." Some observers thought it was "a cheap factory-made article of the Indian trade a hundred years or more ago"; Mr. Holand agreed with them and for a time dismissed the relic as of "little or no" historical importance.

But two subsequent "finds" changed its character altogether. Somewhat prior to October 25, 1945, he purchased an ax which the same prescient octogenarian who remembered for seventy-five years the "neatly-drilled hole" he had seen as a boy of ten in the rock at Cormorant Lake had preserved. He had found it in 1871 near Climax projecting from the bank of the Red River "about two feet below the

⁴⁹For the account of this ax, see *Westward From Vinland*, 239-41.

⁵⁰See *America*, 190, for the narrative.

grassy surface of the top of the bank."⁵¹ The second "find" was the Cambridge, Wisconsin, battle-ax whose discovery we have already noted. These two axes are described as of "expensive" construction and superior workmanship, yet we are also told they are "exactly like" the Alexandria ax, whose "cheap, factory-made" appearance caused its early rejection both by several well-informed scholars and by Mr. Holand himself; which seems to prove that things which are equal to the same thing are not equal to each other; or else that an object which on earlier inspection proves to be "a cheap, factory-made article," subsequently miraculously takes on "expensive" and "admirable" qualities.⁵²

And so we come to the "mooring stones" which like Abou Ben Adhem have now come to lead all the rest of the "finds." They date from 1919 when Mr. Holand, having fixed upon the Cormorant Lake massacre site, found the two stones with three-fourths inch and seven inch deep holes in them.⁵³ At this time the Norsemen had no boat, having come "a long and wearisome march over the prairies to reach the Lake." So they made a raft, large enough to hold ten men and went "out" fishing. Since it was too heavy to draw up on the shore, they anchored it in the water by means of a withy⁵⁴ running to the hole in the mooring stone.

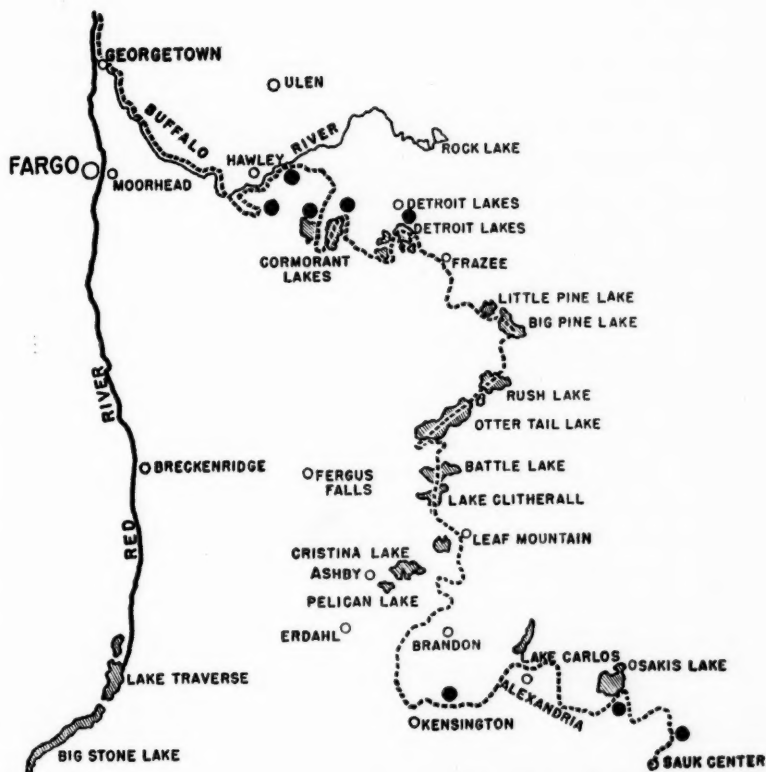
For twelve years no more mooring stones were discovered, since Mr. Holand, not having as yet invented the idea that the tourists had

⁵¹Some Minnesotans have remarkable memories. For this witness' story of the mooring-stone hole, see *America*, 139; for his ax find, see *America*, 191. The same witness also produced another "old-fashioned" ax, thrown up in 1871 from the bottom of Red River by the paddle of a steamboat. Since this one "might have been lost by a recent traveler," Mr. Holand does not include it in his list of pre-Columbian finds. Here we have another significant admission that "ancient" objects were sometimes brought to Minnesota in the nineteenth century.

⁵²For the narrative of the "Three Ceremonial Halberds" see *America*, chapter 16. The unhesitating acceptance, as established fact, of boyhood memories seventy-five years old is fairly typical of our author's habitual use of evidence. Again, his earlier verdict that the Alexandria ax was a "factory-made article of the Indian trade" conveys the admission that such articles as his numerous "finds" of supposed medieval weapons may all be of modern origin, as Larson suggested a dozen years ago in "The Kensington Rune Stone," in *Minnesota History*, 17:36.

⁵³Holand, "Further Discoveries," in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 3:334-37.

⁵⁴A vine or a flexible root, serving the function of a rope.



Map drawn by Russell Martin

THE RUNE STONE AREA OF WESTERN MINNESOTA SHOWING
IMAGINARY ROUTE OF NORSEMEN FROM THE RED RIVER
TO SAUK CENTER AND MOORING-STONE CAMP

crossed Minnesota in a sail boat, was not looking for any.⁵⁵ However, in 1931 a farmer in Clay County, which lies a dozen miles west of Cormorant Lake, reported a stone on his farm with an eight and one-half inch hole in it. Obviously this must be a mooring stone, which thus identified one of the Norsemen's campsites. Obviously, too, about this time Mr. Holand discovered that the Norse travelers had a boat, which they dragged eastward through small lakes and connecting portages twelve miles to Cormorant, although in doing so they must make an ascent of several hundred feet.⁵⁶ By 1946, however, such eastward progress had become impossible; since they could see the land "rising upward for many miles," they returned northward to Buffalo River, and thence went up the river a few miles to the vicinity of Hawley where another mooring stone identifies yet another campsite.⁵⁷ Two more stones, which we forbear to describe, mark their progress to and across the divide to Cormorant Lake, an ascent, as noted, of several hundred feet. From Cormorant Lake, they are conducted by Mr. Holand to Kensington and the Ohman farm. By many a devious twist and turn, a route to the Ohman farm, and thence onward to a tributary of the Mississippi River at Sauk Center is laid down.

Such, briefly sketched, is Mr. Holand's reconstruction of the Norsemen's route from Red River via Buffalo River to Cormorant Lake and thence southward and eastward to Kensington and Sauk Center. Further to comprehend its utter absurdity one must follow his detailed story with an adequate map at hand. Here are thirty men with much equipment traveling in a yawl boat. Passing the question how they were able to sail it up the tumultuous Nelson, let any reader look at the map of western Minnesota and conceive, if he can, of any body of men, presumably sane explorers, abandoning the easily navigable Red River to ascend an insignificant tributary such as the Buffalo. How could a boat large enough to convey thirty men with their equipment ascend such a stream? Or if it did, how could it be carried over frequent portages, and a continental divide involving an ascent of several hundred feet in a distance of a few miles? The only reason given us for the mooring stones is the fact the boat (at first, the raft) was so heavy it could not be lifted from the water; then how could it be

⁵⁵*America*, 142 and following.

⁵⁶*Westward From Vinland*, 209.

⁵⁷*America*, 160.

carried over numerous and extensive portages through a rough and hilly country? In one instance we have definite figures, along with a definite illustration of the ease with which Mr. Holand conquers geographical obstacles. Southward from Cormorant Lake, in Otter Tail County, is an open waterway "interrupted by two very small and one larger portage." The latter is a thirty foot elevation, thirteen hundred feet wide. "This," Mr. Holand observes, "is a small obstacle compared to many of the portages used by the early missionaries and fur traders." Quite so. But the early missionaries and fur traders traveled in bark canoes, which two men could lift and carry with comparative ease. Our Norsemen are journeying in a "yaw! boat," big enough to convey thirty men for hundreds of miles. If to carry it over a ridge thirty feet high and thirteen hundred feet wide was a trifling matter, why not lift it ashore each night (as the traders did their canoes), instead of resorting to the tedious process of preparing mooring stones? And if no mooring stones were needed, pop goes the entire fanciful story of the route across Minnesota from the Red River to the Mississippi.⁵⁸

If, however, these holes were not made by the Norsemen to serve as boat anchorages, how else are we to account for them? Mr. Holand's own narrative supplies the answer. In a farming country strewn with boulders, it is commonplace procedure to break up the larger rocks for easier removal from the fields or for use as building stones by blasting them with explosives. To do this, the workman with hammer and chisel drills a hole, usually several inches deep and an inch or so in diameter, in which he inserts the charge of dynamite or gunpowder, whose explosion breaks the rock into smaller fragments. Drilling the

⁵⁸*America*, 165. Here is afforded one more illustration of our author's frequent disregard for simple facts with which he is perfectly familiar. Only twenty-five pages earlier in *America*, 140, arguing that the Cormorant Lake mooring stone "holes" must have been made by the Norsemen of 1362, he observes: "The position of the hole, in a rock on the highest beach level, suggests that it had something to do with the lake—perhaps that this rock was to serve as a pier or mooring place for a boat too heavy to pull up on shore except with great labor. *This supposition precludes the possibility that some early trapper made the hole, because the trappers used bark canoes that could be picked up by one man* [my italics]." So, "there remain the explorers of 1362."

Mr. Holand's own earlier conception of the weight of the Norse travellers' boat is clearly indicated in his description of the Cormorant Lake mooring-hole stones; these "are all of the largest size (about 6 by 4 by 5 feet) which would be necessary in order to prevent the boulders, if used as mooring stones, from being carried out into the deep water by the tugging of the boat or raft." *The Kensington Stone*, 150.

hole is a simple but more or less tedious process, the amount of time expended varying with the nature of the stone and the industry of the worker. Nor is it uncommon for a hole to be drilled without proceeding with the blasting operation.

With all this, Mr. Holand is, of course, perfectly familiar. With the widespread interest aroused in western Minnesota through the publicity given to his supposed discoveries, there is no occasion for surprise that a more than adequate number of rocks with holes in them have been brought to his attention. He tells us that "much time has been lost" in checking such stones reported to him which not even he can accept as mooring stones.⁵⁹ Yet the facility with which he identifies skerries where none exist, along with "medieval" fire steels and other implements, enables him to produce mooring stones at pleasure in the midst of farms or on rocky hillsides remote from any water.

In describing the Lake Jessie stone the possibility "that the hole may have been drilled by an early settler who wished to remove obstructions in his field or obtain stone for building purposes," is recognized;⁶⁰ yet nowhere does Mr. Holand recognize the likelihood that since mooring stones were well-known phenomena in Norway, the holes he now associates with the fourteenth-century Norsemen, if mooring-stone holes at all, may quite as well have been made by nineteenth-century Scandinavian settlers of Minnesota.⁶¹

Having deduced that the earlier Norsemen must have camped in the vicinity of Stinking Lake, Mr. Holand looked there for the now customary mooring stone. As with the Pelican Lake windy-day skerries of 1909, his success was embarrassing. There he had found a dozen

⁵⁹By 1940, we are told, "the subject of mooring stones had gained much local attention and many people were looking for them," *America*, 148.

⁶⁰*America*, 145.

⁶¹Note that the mooring-stone practice is still current in Norway. *Westward From Vinland*, 202. It must therefore have been known to the pioneer settlers of the Cormorant Lake region, who fished the lake for days as early as 1879. *Westward From Vinland*, 200-201. They would have the same necessity for anchoring their boats as the tourists of 1362 were under, and the same skill in making mooring holes. Hence there is no need of attributing the holes to the fourteenth-century visitors.

Since Mr. Holand proposes in *America*, 176-77 to make a search for more mooring stones along the eastern shore line of Lake Winnipeg it may be pertinent to note the nineteenth-century establishment by the Hudson's Bay Company of Norway House at the point where the lake empties into Nelson River. Since this post was named in honor of the Scandinavian employees of the company who lived and labored there, due care should be taken to distinguish the mooring-stone holes they may have made from those made by the wayfarers of 1362.

skerries instead of the two desired, and had promptly discarded all but the two he needed. Now, needing one stone with a hole in it, he found eight, one of the holes being seven and one-half inches deep and the others about three and one-half. Inquiry of the farmer who owned the land disclosed that about twenty years earlier his father, with the help of the present informant, had drilled the holes, intending to blast the stones for use in building a barn; but, finding he could obtain a more satisfactory supply from a neighbor, he had abandoned the plan of using these. In the face of this perfectly clear testimony, however, Mr. Holand concludes that the stone with the hole seven and one-half inches deep is in fact a mooring stone of the year 1362.⁶²

One might reasonably question the possibility of exhibiting a higher degree of unscholarly procedure than this. Yet it is probably exhibited in the following cases, which concern putative mooring stones at Lake Osakis and Detroit Lakes. At the former place a stone is found with a hole one inch deep.⁶³ Although Mr. Holand elsewhere tells of stones with similar holes bored by boys at play,⁶⁴ this one is declared to be "an abortive specimen" of a mooring hole, and since several other rocks lie near by, if only they were turned over "it is likely that a true mooring hole would be found in one of them."⁶⁵ So Lake Osakis goes into the record as identifying another camp site of 1362.

At Detroit Lakes no hole of any kind is to be seen. But thirty years ago, a citizen relates, the boulder elected for mooring-stone honors was higher up the bank than its present location, and it then had a hole in it "slightly triangular and about 8 inches deep."⁶⁶ Presumably this hole could be found if the stone were to be rolled over. So, on the strength of such testimony, another milestone on the long pilgrimage of the wayfarers of 1362 across Minnesota is identified.⁶⁷

⁶²*America*, 149-50. Here is afforded a clear illustration of the fact that farmers sometimes drill holes in rocks without continuing with the subsequent blasting operation; thereby leaving the holes for future identification as fourteenth-century "mooring-stone" holes.

⁶³*America*, 151-53.

⁶⁴*America*, 147-48. Holes one inch deep in rocks are sometimes produced, also, by natural processes of weathering.

⁶⁵*America*, 153.

⁶⁶*America*, 153-54.

⁶⁷Here the reader is intrigued with another mystery. On the shore of Lake Melissa several stones with holes drilled in them, and thought to be mooring stones, were found. On inspection, however, they "proved to be a false trail," which seems to imply that Mr. Holand did not stand in need of these particular

In 1933 the thought occurred to Mr. Holand that the visitors of 1362 should have had a boat to convey them to the Ohman farm "island" where the rune stone was found.⁶⁸ If a boat, so also, a "mooring stone," and so, with an aptitude for making discoveries which rivals the home-run performances of Babe Ruth, he proceeded to find one. Search at the assumed level of the assumed ancient lake, however, proved fruitless. "The thought then occurred" that the mooring stone would have been on a steep slope and the process of erosion would eventually tumble it down the hillside; and if in rolling down it struck another stone, "it might well have been broken, and parts of it might have bounced farther out over the lower level."

This truly ingenious idea proved fruitful. Near the base of the hill and adjoining an enclosed field is a pile of stones, one of which exhibits a "chiseled hole about 1 inch deep and somewhat smaller in diameter." The illustrations which Mr. Holand has published⁶⁹ suggest to the normal observer a commonplace field-side pile of rocks, a portion of one of which may possibly have been blasted off, leaving the bottom inch of the powder hole behind.⁷⁰ Mr. Holand, however, concludes that the stone must have met with a severe "collision" at some former time, breaking off several large fragments, and if the right one of these could be found and superimposed over the present hole it would thereby become a chiseled hole seven or eight inches deep; and so, *mirabile dictu*, another fourteenth-century mooring stone is born.

Capstone of the entire mooring-stone orgy, however, is supplied by the Sauk Center boulder, to which an entire chapter is devoted. On a farm a few miles distant from Sauk Center, formerly a forest of large trees, is a large rock, seventeen by twenty-seven feet in horizontal di-

holes; but if nineteenth or twentieth-century Minnesotans could drill these holes, why may they not have drilled any of the others which our author's eager assistant-searchers have found?

⁶⁸*America*, 143-44. The "island," a hilly elevation, is illustrated in *Westward From Vinland*, plate xvii. The rune stone theorists assume that in 1362 the hill was an island, while the lower ground around it was a lake fifteen or more feet deep. Concerning this, Flom in 1910 remarked: "It has perhaps never occurred to the Minnesota Committee that our practical joker may have chosen to designate a hill in a forest by the term 'island,' which is neither ancient nor rare." Flom's Report, 120.

⁶⁹*Westward From Vinland*, plates xv-xvii.

⁷⁰Or it may be assumed that some farmer, or boy at play, started to drill a hole for blasting, but for some reason abandoned the task. Mr. Holand's book supplies a number of examples of such procedure.

mensions and evidently of considerable height.⁷¹ In it are four holes, two bored horizontally into a vertical side of the rock's upper surface, the other two bored vertically, some distance away, into its horizontal surface. Clearing of this farm began about 1892, but a septuagenarian witness is readily produced who remembers that in 1883, when a boy of thirteen, he often "whiled away [his] time by poking in the holes of the rock with a wire." Why the memory of this far from exciting sport should have been retained undimmed for more than sixty years is not explained; yet the testimony convinces Mr. Holand that the holes were not drilled by any nineteenth-century farmer.

Therefore, although they are not mooring-stone holes, they must have been made by the Norse tourists of 1362. But for what purpose? Deep thought indulged in by our author at first produced the theory that the travelers had utilized the rock as a drydock, upon which they upturned their boat for needed repairs, and since all workmen must have tools, they had drilled the horizontal holes to insert "brackets" on which to support a shelf.⁷² But subsequent actual inspection of the rock disclosed that there was plenty of space for tools, and so this theory "fell flat." Others were advanced and rejected in turn until someone remembered that "the Kensington inscription indicates that a priest was a member of the expedition."⁷³

Since it is the function of a priest to conduct religious services, it follows that the imaginary "shelf" was erected to support an equally imaginary altar. And since it would have been "inexcusable carelessness" to permit the supports of the altar to break, letting "the sacred vessels and consecrated bread and wine fall down," the two horizontal holes were made extra large (all of one and three-eighths inches, as

⁷¹For the narrative of "The Altar in the Wilderness," see *America*, chapter 14. For a picture of the rock, see *America*, plate 6.

⁷²Note the readiness with which Mr. Holand assumes the rock must have been utilized as a medieval dry dock before even bothering to visit it. The "eager expectancy" with which he first sought out the rune stone (*ante*, footnote 5) still abides with him. One is left to wonder what various tools, whose presence is deftly suggested by the need of the shelf, these fourteenth-century travelers carried.

⁷³Apparently it didn't in 1919, when the members of the party were "wandering soldiers and sailors" whose orthography, grammar, etc., partook of the characteristics of those of "an illiterate soldier of fortune" according to Holand in "The Kensington Rune Stone," in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 3:157; or in 1940, when they were "no doubt soldiers and sailors, instead of clerks" according to *Westward From Vinland*, 152. On page 138 of the same volume, however, it is affirmed that the expedition contained "one or more priests."

compared with the vertical holes one inch in width) to forefend such a catastrophe. Moreover, the mass requires lighted candles, which under no circumstances must be permitted to go out; so, to guard against gusts of wind, the sail of the yawl boat was stretched above the concave upper surface of the rock, supported at its outer corner by a spear whose shaft was inserted in the sixteen inch hole; and to make the entire house of worship completely shipshape and cozy, a guy rope running from the spearhead was anchored to the remaining horizontal hole, lest the canopy be permitted to sag in its middle portion.

Such, briefly sketched, is our author's colorful evocation, from four holes in a rock, of "this earliest identifiable Christian altar in the interior of America." To appreciate it adequately one must compare the photograph of the rock (plate VI) with the fictional reconstruction of the scene and church service shown on page 174 of *America*. Here, as so often elsewhere, however, troublesome questions intrude upon the serenity of the holy scene. This rock is a dry-land boulder some distance from the nearest lake and in the midst of a former forest. There is nothing to associate it with the tourists of 1362 save their now celebrated passion for boring holes in rocks. Even Mr. Holand affirms that in this case we are not dealing with mooring holes; hence the house-of-worship explanation of their purpose. But we can only wonder how this truly resourceful priest was able to carry with him supplies of bread and candles and wine adequate for a wilderness journey of several years duration and several thousand miles extent; and since a spear shaft thrust into a vertical hole one inch in width and sixteen inches deep, cannot conceivably lean over, the explanation of the fourth, or guy-rope hole vanishes into thin air; and with it, too, vanishes the entire pipe dream concerning the "altar in the wilderness," for not even Mr. Holand has as yet suggested that the Norsemen wandered around Minnesota drilling holes in boulders to serve no purpose whatever.

And so we reach the conclusion of the mooring-stone pilgrimage, for the Norsemen were now on a tributary of the Mississippi where no mooring holes were needed.⁷⁴ The complete absence of any schol-

⁷⁴Note that by his recent removal of the imaginary eastern "headquarters" of Knutson from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Newport Tower, Mr. Holand has torpedoed the only real reason (we ignore for the moment Paul's tax-collecting zeal) ever advanced for making the Nelson River-Minnesota safari. This was the desire of Paul to return to his "headquarters," which as recently as 1940 were

arly or historical basis for the entire invention must be obvious even to its author. It is all dependent upon the supposed necessity of getting the travelers from Red River to Cormorant Lake and from thence to Kensington; and the identification of Cormorant Lake as the site of the massacre is at least as silly as was the now-discarded identification of the Pelican Lake windy-day skerries. Fundamental to it is the assumption that the runemaster applied a strictly nautical term to the description of an overland journey across Minnesota, and that this term indicates to us the definite figure of seventy-five miles. But now, aided by his mooring stones, Mr. Holand has traced a serpentine, tortuous route from Cormorant Lake to Kensington, adding many miles to the air-line distance between the two points. Necessarily, then, the runemaster's "days journey" indicates a point far short of Cormorant Lake, and Mr. Holand must undertake still another search for a new set of skerries, and another massacre site.

Again, the reasons given for our fourteenth-century Norsemen leaving Red River to ascend the Buffalo and so to reach their rendezvous with destiny at Cormorant Lake was their desire to return eastward to Vinland. How they could have had any real conception of the location of Vinland in relation to their southward progress we are left to imagine. If we endow them with an accurate knowledge of the geography of the Continent, however, their supposed desire to turn eastward at Buffalo River had a certain plausibility while Mr. Holand was locating their headquarters on the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Now that he has moved this objective five hundred miles southward to Newport, and some four hundred miles south of Cormorant Lake, the imagined reason for deserting the easily navigable, southward-trending Red to ascend the difficult, relatively insignificant Buffalo ceases to have even specious plausibility.

Still again, even if we agree with Mr. Holand that the Norsemen were massacred on the shore of Cormorant Lake, no campsite has been identified. For when the now celebrated skerries were "discovered"

"probably" on Gaspé Bay (*Westward From Vinland*, 139), by ascending the Nelson and descending the St. Lawrence. But even a more remarkable traveler than Paul would have no reason for descending the St. Lawrence in order to reach Newport. Now that Mr. Holand has brought his tax-collecting "crusader" to the Upper Mississippi, another book should be produced conducting him from Sauk Center to New Orleans and thence around the seacoast to Newport; thereby fulfilling the latest version of the Kensington inscription that the travelers were journeying from Vinland "round about" the West.

by him in 1919, he affirmed that they could be seen from various points around the extensive lakeshore; and since the runemaster merely says the camp was "by 2 skerries," any point from which these could be seen would serve to identify the campground.⁷⁵

Throughout the many discussions concerning the rune-stone question, a somewhat unusual difficulty persists. The argument which Mr. Holand has developed in support of the validity of the inscription involves two distinct branches of scholarship, in both of which he professes to speak with authority.⁷⁶ Although there are numerous scholars proficient in the medieval Scandinavian languages, and other specialists in the fields, respectively, of medieval Norse and early American history, the number who profess the mastery of both fields is comparatively small.

The earlier linguists who examined the Kensington inscription almost unanimously pronounced it a modern hoax.⁷⁷ In more recent years some linguists, while criticizing severely Mr. Holand's linguistic interpretation, have conceded the validity of his historical exposition, ignoring or being ignorant of its many historical contradictions and absurdities.⁷⁸

⁷⁵Cormorant Lake was formerly much larger than it is now, with an extensive and irregular shoreline. In 1919 Mr. Holand reported that the skerries could be seen "from different points" on the shore. "Further discoveries," in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 3:334. More recently, in *Westward From Vinland*, 194, we are told they could be seen from only one point, the hill on the Johnson farm. There is no present possibility of checking these contradictory statements, for the "skerries," alas, are skerries no longer. In the thirties the lake level fell some ten feet, turning them into dry-land peninsulas which are now (1946) covered with timber. *America*, 137. This last detail suggests a rate of growth which contrasts oddly with our author's insistence that the small rune-stone poplar must have been at least seventy years old.

⁷⁶His historical scholarship is examined in the present article. For his story of his ability to read at first sight a runic inscription whose translation had defied the runologists of Europe for years, see Holand, "The Kensington Rune Stone Abroad," in *Records of the Past*, 10:270-71. Some American scholars, including Drs. Einarsson, Flom, and Larson, remain less sure of his runic eminence.

⁷⁷Flom's Report, 125; Quaife, "Myth of the Kensington Rune Stone," 619. For Mr. Holand's aspersion of the European scholars who rejected the inscription, see *ante*, footnote 48.

⁷⁸For example, Dr. Einarsson, who supplies a devastating criticism of the linguistic argument, even denying that Mr. Holand is a linguist at all, and expressing surprise at the "extraordinary way" he uses his sources. Yet he accepts, or at least does not controvert, his no less extraordinary historical argument, and grants that he "has been singularly fortunate in providing an historical background to the inscription." *Speculum*, 8:400-408. For an assemblage of quotations of opinions favorable to the inscription see C. Stewart Peterson's *America's Rune Stone of A.D. 1362 Gains Favor* (New York, 1946), chapter 1. This

My own earlier article⁷⁹ stated my lack of knowledge of runology and confined itself to an examination of Mr. Holand's historical arguments for the inscription, with a view to freeing the linguists from any presumption that so far as historical grounds were concerned a valid case for the stone has been made. The subsequent marked extension of this line of argument by Mr. Holand,⁸⁰ together with the impact upon the lay public mind which its frequent repetition is making,⁸¹ makes the present down-to-date analysis desirable. While the lay public may continue to be misled, no historical scholar who troubles himself to trace the devious argument Mr. Holand has developed need longer entertain any doubt of its invalidity.

With respect to the linguistic side of the argument for the inscription, one pertinent observation is in order. The leopard does not change its spots, and the author who in the historical field habitually practices the intellectual acrobatics we have been observing does not upon crossing over to the linguistic realm suddenly become transformed into a cautious and competent scholar. The extensive employment of an uninhibited imagination enables our author to construct with ease a captivating and superficially convincing recital which frequently, as one of his recent reviewers has noted, reads like a "detective novel."⁸² With equal ease he can replace the story any moment with a new and contradictory one.⁸³

singularly unscholarly volume is chiefly devoted to a condensed restatement of Mr. Holand's arguments for the inscription.

⁷⁹Quaife, "Myth of the Kensington Rune Stone."

⁸⁰Especially the mooring-stone, altar-in-the-wilderness, and corroborative-finds fantasies.

⁸¹See, for example, laudatory reviews of *America* in the *New York Herald Tribune*, October 13, 1946 and the *New York Times*, December 1, 1946. The first of these neglects to inform the reader that the reviewer aided Mr. Holand in the preparation of the book. The second reviewer opines that Mr. Holand "very plainly has strict notions of scholarship."

⁸²*New York Times*, December 1, 1946. For a good illustration of Hollywood style at its best, see his vividly detailed recital of the massacre scene (this one at Pelican Lake) in "First Authoritative Investigation," in the *Journal of American History*, 4:182-83 where we are even told what variety of fish the survivors of the massacre caught. Similar illustrations, too numerous for specific citation, abound.

⁸³The number "14" or "41" may serve to illustrate this. In the beginning Mr. Holand, who claims the credit of being the first scholar able to read the numerals in the inscription, translated this one as "14." Faced by the difficulty of getting the explorers from the sea to Kensington in fourteen days, he supplied a detailed, and apparently scholarly rendition of the number as "41" in "First Authoritative Investigation," in the *Journal of American History* 4:172. At this

A full generation of persistent and eager effort to devise a rational historical explanation of the presence of the Kensington inscription has produced only the exhibition of pseudo-scholarship whose unsupported assumptions and frequent absurdities the present brief discussion has too inadequately traced. Not one document indicating the presence of Norsemen in continental North America in the fourteenth century has been produced, nor anything calculated to render such presence a probable assumption. Instead, a series of baseless assumptions, many of which outrage ordinary common sense while many others are provably false, have been made to serve as the foundation for spinning an extended narrative of historical fiction.

The obvious alternative, therefore, is to accept the verdict advanced by the scholars who first reported upon the inscription, that it is a hoax of modern origin. No convincing arguments in disproof of this verdict have been advanced by anyone, and although Mr. Holand professes an inability to conceive of a person capable or desirous of "planting" the inscription, there are plenty of capable scholars who can. The perpetration of archaeological and other hoaxes is a commonplace of American life, and the inability to conceive that the Kensington inscription could have been faked contrasts strangely with our author's normally perfervid imagination. Long since, the manufacture of historical frauds has become a thriving small-scale industry, nor are the custodians of museums and other professional scholars immune to such deceptions.

time (1910) he had not yet heard of the nautical seventy-five mile interpretation of "day's journey." In 1919 he heard of, and promptly appropriated it, whereupon "41" again became "14." Or note, again, the oft-mentioned Pelican Lake skerries. In November, 1909 he found and proclaimed them, out in the lake one hundred to two hundred feet. Soon thereafter Winchell substituted for these stones the two dry-land boulders near the end of the point. Mr. Holand accepted the new boulders, and barely six months later carefully concealed from his readers the fact that the substitution had been made. Compare his announcement of the windy-day skerries, reprinted in Quaife, "Myth of the Kensington Stone," 622, with the divergent recital of the same discovery in "First Authoritative Investigation," in the *Journal of American History*, 4:181-82. Still later, he denied that the Pelican Lake skerries and massacre site had been identified at all. See *ante*, footnote 17. Note also the early easy abandonment of the St. Lawrence-Great Lakes-route theory; or the more recent removal of the site of Vinland; the change from overland travel from the Red River "over the prairies" to Cormorant Lake to the ascent of the Buffalo River in a yawl boat; the naive explanation in "The 'Myth' of the Kensington Stone," 51, footnote 22, of the reason for discarding the Pelican Lake massacre site and skerries; the abandonment of the route from the Clay County mooring stone to Cormorant Lake; etc., etc., etc.

Nor does a current inability to identify the perpetrator of the hoax argue anything as to the validity of his creation. Men equipped with unexpected skills and learning are frequently to be found in unexpected places, a fact which any sudden great emergency is likely to disclose. But there is not even anything unexpected about finding some knowledge of Norse linguistics and history current in a predominantly Scandinavian community. The impossibly vast depth of learning which Mr. Holand would (at times) have us believe our Kensington runemaster possessed is simply ingenious window dressing, like his own frequent ready invention of historical scenes and backgrounds. An author who habitually relies on wishful daydreams to supply the absence of sober documentary evidence can, of course, demonstrate anything; but such creations are not scholarly works, nor does their creator have any legitimate claim to the rank of scholar.

The Dustless Road To Happyland

Rev. Edward J. Dowling, S. J.

ON THE SEAL OF THE STATE OF MICHIGAN there appears the following Latin inscription: *Si quaeras peninsulem amoenam, circumspice*; "If you seek a beautiful peninsula, look about you."¹ Too often, perhaps, we of Michigan fail to appreciate the natural beauty which our state possesses. I believe sincerely that people of other states know and appreciate this better than we. Our state must have something in it that attracts, because it is one of the largest tourist-attracting states in the Union.

The fact that as far back as three-quarters of a century ago lower Michigan's west shore was an attractive resort area, to which hundreds of thousands came annually from neighboring states, and the fact that the same area possessed then, as now, extensive resources in fruit-growing, constituted the two principal causes for the beginning of the steamship line whose history I wish to review.

The man who seems first to have seen the need for a two-way link to connect the crowded cities of Illinois and Wisconsin with the resorts of Michigan, and to carry across the lake the produce of our state's orchards to the hungry mouths of the big cities, was John Graham of St. Joseph.

John Graham was born in Boone County, Illinois, on December 10, 1849. His boyhood years were spent at Elkhart, Indiana, from whence his parents came to St. Joseph when he was fifteen. Here his father engaged in the hardwood lumber business, and John worked in the office. Upon his father's death young Graham took over the business. For some years his partner was Andrew Crawford, who, like himself, would in later years be a ship man. When Graham was in his middle twenties he married Miss Lora E. Chase of Benton Harbor.

The affairs of his lumber business necessarily brought him into close contact with the lake shipping of his home city. These were the boom

¹The author wishes to express his debt of gratitude to Mr. Herman C. Runge of Milwaukee, to the Rev. Canon Frank C. St. Clair of Manitowoc, and to Mr. William A. McDonald of Detroit, for the assistance they have given him in the preparation of this paper.

years in the lumber trade. Undoubtedly the mill and docks were visited by many steam barges and schooners each summer. Whether Graham as a lumber dealer owned ships or not, I cannot say. Similarly, I have not been able to learn whether he sailed himself or not, though in later years he is referred to occasionally as "Captain" John Graham. This, however could have been merely an honorary name or even a modest nickname for him as a shipowner. We are told, nevertheless, that he was engaged in interests other than lumber; for instance, that he was president of the Alden Canning Company of Benton Harbor, and president of the St. Joseph Hotel. He was active in local politics in which he had the reputation of being a staunch Republican.

It was sometime in the early seventies that he saw what he thought were the indications that the orchards of his lower Michigan would soon be producing more than the area could consume, and would then be seeking a market elsewhere. As a business man he had dealt with buyers and manufacturers in Chicago, already a fast-growing metropolis. No doubt, from the shores of St. Joseph one night in 1871, he had watched with hundreds of his fellow townspeople the red glow over the western horizon, which was the first message of the great Chicago Fire. In the following years he had seen a resourceful and greater Chicago rise from the charred ruins of 1871. Here, he argued to himself, was the market for his lumber and for the produce of the lands about him. From here too, he thought, would the crowds throng to the resorts, the beaches, and the inland lakes of lower Michigan, if the means of transportation were provided. To him the solution was patent, a fast steamer line to carry the produce westward and to bring Chicagoans and westerners to Michigan.

Graham did not possess the necessary capital to build a fleet of first-class ships. But he did have good contacts on both sides of Lake Michigan. He was but twenty-six years old when he journeyed to Chicago to consult the man he thought would best understand his views and appreciate the possibilities of the plan he had conceived.

J. Stanley Morton was a Chicagoan, a successful business man and capitalist. To him Graham went, unfolded his prospectus, and received the financial backing he sought. Graham, Morton and Company dates its origin from this conference. Graham became president and Morton, secretary and treasurer.

Two ships were immediately purchased, both of them fine ships of the time. The *Messenger* was nine years old, having been built in Cleveland in 1866; a ship of screw drive, 444 tons, 147 feet long. The second ship was the *Skylark*, which had been built in Detroit in 1864, also a propeller, measuring 114 tons, 122 feet long. This ship had been brought to Lake Michigan in 1871 by Captain Albert E. Goodrich, who wanted its engines for his new *Oconto*, which was then nearing completion at Manitowoc. The *Skylark* received another set of engines the next year. Like the *Messenger*, she had good freight capacity and fine accommodations above the main deck. Shortly after Graham purchased her, she was renamed *Berrien*, after that county in lower Michigan which is noted for its fine peaches and grapes.

In 1879 a third vessel was added to the line, the new side-wheeler *May Graham*. This was a small vessel intended for river service. She was built at St. Joseph for the line. She was a well-built vessel, as is evidenced by her long life of forty-two years. These three ships proved very successful, and after five prosperous years the line was organized into a stock company, and thereafter was known as the Graham and Morton Transportation Company. The port of registry was Benton Harbor. The vessels were at that time painted black to the main deck, with white upper hull and cabins, and black stacks.

The fleet was increased in 1882 by the construction of the large propeller *Lora* at Benton Harbor. This vessel was listed at 616 tons, was 170 feet long and possessed both speed and fine accommodations. She sailed on Lake Michigan until 1914. Her later names were *Alice Stafford* and *Manistee*. The *City of St. Joseph*, another propeller, 464 tons, 152 feet long, was added a year later, but she served the line for only one year. In 1884 she was badly damaged by fire at Benton Harbor and her hulk was sold. The hulk was rebuilt into a steam barge, and sailed out of Chicago for some years under the name *S. K. Martin*. This fire was the first loss the line had sustained.

Three years later a larger ship was built at Benton Harbor and named *Puritan*. She was screw-driven and measured 172 by 23 feet, and was about 300 gross tons. She sailed in the line for four or five years, then the need for larger ships brought about her sale to the Seymour Transportation Company of Chicago. Under their colors she sailed between Chicago and northern lower Michigan ports until she was destroyed by fire at Manistee in 1895.

By 1889 Graham's most sanguine hopes had been realized. His docks at Benton Harbor had become the fruit-delivery station for three counties. The line's vessels, though small, had become so popular with travellers that their owners were now being forced to build passenger ships exclusively. At Chicago, Morton had wisely chosen his dock property at the north end of Wabash Avenue, in the very heart of the city, and only a block from the city's world famous South Water Street Market. To reach their terminal the Graham and Morton ships had to negotiate only one bridge, the swing bridge at Rush Street.

Plans for expansion went into action in 1890 when the Graham and Morton line went all out for the passenger trade with the palatial steel side-wheeler *City of Chicago*. This speedy and truly beautiful ship was built at the Wheeler yards in Bay City; her dimensions were 235 feet long, overall, by 34 feet beam of hull. She was propelled by a Fletcher beam engine. The vessel was lengthened fourteen feet in 1891, and in 1905 was again lengthened about twenty-eight feet; in 1916 her two stacks were replaced by a large central one. This fine ship ended her days as a barge; she was wrecked near Eagle Harbor on Lake Superior on September 21, 1942. Her fifty-two years on the Lakes speak well for the excellence of her construction.

Two years after the *City of Chicago*, came another palatial vessel. Specifications called for a 225 foot screw-driven vessel, with roomy hold and accommodations for two hundred night passengers, and with a heavily sheathed hull for winter service. On her trial runs the *Chicora's* triple expansion engines drove her a little over eighteen miles per hour, which was very fast for the time. She proved to be a good sea boat and was most trim in appearance. People used to crowd to the street intersections to watch her sail up the Chicago River.

The loss of this vessel on January 19, 1895 was one of the great disasters of Lake Michigan. She had sailed from Milwaukee under the command of Captain Edward C. Stines, early in the morning, and headed southeast for St. Joseph, where she would arrive shortly after noon. The weather was mild and the lake smooth. At St. Joseph, however, Graham noted a drop in the barometer, and immediately ordered the captain of the chartered propeller *Petoskey* not to sail. He wired a similar message to Captain Stines at Milwaukee, but this telegram did not arrive there until after the *Chicora* had left port.

The storm broke over the lake as the day advanced. People thought and hoped that the *Chicora* might have sought shelter in some other west Michigan harbor, when she did not appear at St. Joseph. Considerable investigation that afternoon failed to locate her, and whatever hopes remained were dispelled the next day when wreckage, positively identified as being part of the vessel, washed ashore between South Haven and Saugatuck. The *Chicora* carried no insurance due to her operation during the winter months. Ship and cargo together were valued at \$175,000.

The *Chicora* has earned a place in Lake Michigan's memories second only to the lost *Lady Elgin*. And like the *Lady Elgin* she too has had a poem written about her, *A Song and a Sigh*, by N. Waterman. True, the poem's literary worth may be questioned, but its theme and sentiments are appropriate enough.

Here a song for the *Chicora*, for the beautiful *Chicora*

Proudly as a swan she rode the undulating seas—

Dancing o'er the gentle billows, as gracefully as bend the willows.

Bend the lithe and happy willows to the breath of every breeze.

From the bold and busy babble of the city's rush and rabble

To the fields of fruit and flowers, went she ever to and fro,

Like a seabird floating over the land of soft sweet clover,

To the bloom-wreathed vales of gladness, to the hills of old Saint Joe.

O the hearts that watched her going, ever smaller, smaller growing,

Out upon the seeming shoreless waste of waters, glad and free,

Growing dimmer, dimmer, dimmer, in an iridescent shimmer,

'Til a speck, she faded between the blue of sky and sea.

Here's a sigh for the *Chicora*, for the broken, sad *Chicora*.

Here's a tear for those who followed her beneath the tossing wave.

O the mystery of the morrow—from its shadows let us borrow

A star of hope to shine above the gloom of every grave.

The loss of the *Chicora* left the line with only one big ship, the *City of Chicago*. For an immediate replacement the steam barge *R. C. Reid*, which had been built at Saugatuck in 1888, was bought. She was rebuilt into a passenger and freight carrier and renamed *City of Louisville*. This ship was 174 feet long and weighed 554 gross tons. She served for six years until she was badly gutted by fire in 1901. The hulk was sold "as is" to the Hart Transportation Company of Green Bay, Wisconsin, who rebuilt the ship and renamed it *Harriet A. Hart*.

Four years later she took fire again, and sank while en route from Cheboygan to Detour.

In 1896 the large side-wheeler *City of Milwaukee* was purchased from the Detroit, Grand Haven and Milwaukee Railroad. She had been built of iron at the Wyandotte yards of the Detroit Drydock Company in 1881 for the Goodrich Transit Company. She was an 1148 ton vessel, about 245 feet long, and was driven by a Fletcher beam engine. In size and appearance she was almost an identical twin of the second *City of Cleveland*, which was later the *City of Alpena* and still later the *State of Ohio*. From the time of her construction until the coming of the *Manitou* in 1892 she had been generally conceded the title, "Queen of Lake Michigan." She possessed fine lines, speed, and superb accommodations. Early in the twentieth century Graham and Morton renamed her *Holland*. She served in the line until 1916 when she was sold to the Crosby Transportation Company of Milwaukee. With all her speed and finery, this ship was beset with ill luck throughout her career. By the time of her sale in 1916, she had so come to be looked upon with fear, that her owners had to get rid of her and had difficulty finding a buyer. Her misfortunes plagued her to the last, and her wreck on the pierheads of Muskegon on the stormy night of October 28, 1919, with the loss of twenty-nine lives, is another of Lake Michigan's major disasters.

In 1900 two small ships were added to the Graham and Morton fleet. They were the second *May Graham*, a small side-wheeler of about the same size as her predecessor of the same name. This second *May Graham* was built new and was intended for excursions in rivers and sheltered harbors. The other vessel acquired, though old, was larger. This was the *Mary*, a 200 ton propeller which had been built at Marine City in 1882 and was for twenty years a familiar sight on the St. Clair River.

In 1901, the large steel propeller *Puritan* was built for the line at the Toledo yards of John Craig. She measured 240 by 40 feet, and was very fast. She operated mostly on the Chicago to Holland and Saugatuck line. In 1908 she was lengthened to 275 feet. During World War I she served as a troop transport, but returned to the lakes in 1920 and was completely rebuilt at Milwaukee. She operated thereafter in the fleet of the Michigan Transit Company, running between Chicago and Traverse Bay ports. She was reduced to a total wreck

when she ran onto the rocks of Isle Royale while going at full speed, in 1933. The vessel's name had just been changed to *George M. Cox*.

A year after the advent of the *Puritan*, the line bought the year-old steel propeller *Argo* from the Booth Fisheries Company. This vessel was also Craig built, and just a little smaller than the *Puritan*. She ran in the Graham and Morton Line until 1910 when she was sold to Captain Miles Barry of Chicago, who renamed her *Racine*. The *Racine* also went to salt water in 1917, and after the war passed into the French registry as the *Rene* of Brest.

In the history of the Graham and Morton Transportation Company the names of two tugs appear. One of them was the *Bob Stevenson*, a very small craft, built in Buffalo back in 1872. She was used to tow the line's ships in and out of the river at Holland. The other tug was the large steel *Bonita*, built at Ferrysburg by Johnston Brothers for the line in 1903. She seems to have been too large and expensive for the needs of the company, and was sold after a few years to the city of Chicago. Today, as the *Chicago Harbor No. 4*, she serves the city's intake stations and keeps the river clear of ice in the winter time. She is one of the few surviving ships of the Graham and Morton line.

In the year 1906, there were listed in the line two small wooden freight and passenger steamers, the *Soo City*, 180 feet long, 670 tons, built at Bay City in 1888; and the *Joseph C. Suit*, built at Saugatuck in 1884, 152 tons, 110 feet long. In the same year, the large steel combination package and bulk freight carrier *William H. Gratwick*, the second large freighter to bear that name, was chartered apparently for the season. This vessel had been built in 1893 at West Bay City for the fleet of Captain John Mitchell. She was 2818 tons, was 346 feet long by 44 wide, and was the sister ship of the *W. H. Gilbert*. Both vessels had been owned at one time by the New York Central Railway fleet. This *Gratwick* was later named the *Minnekahta* and still later, the *Glenlyon*. The first steamer *William H. Gratwick* was a wooden ship, and was later the automobile carrier *Fleetwood*, the first of that name. The third *William H. Gratwick* was a 435 foot ore carrier, later the *Pegasus*, which was scrapped in 1946 at Hamilton, Ontario. To add to this *Gratwick* mixup, there was also a wooden tug *William H. Gratwick*. *Gratwick* himself must have been a gentleman of some parts.

In 1905 the new queen of the fleet, the *City of Benton Harbor*, arrived new from the Craig yards. She was 260 feet long, of side-wheel propulsion driven by an inclined compound engine of the most modern type. She was a fine sea boat, and soon won for herself a popularity which she possessed until the end of her days. She was the last of the old Graham and Morton fleet to be painted all white. From the season of 1906 on, the vessels were painted dark green of hull.

The period of 1905 to 1915 was a prosperous era for the line. By this time its services and ports of call had been definitely determined into two routes. The southern line from St. Joseph and Benton Harbor to Chicago was served by the side-wheelers, *City of Chicago*, *City of Benton Harbor*, and *Holland*. The northern line connected Chicago with Saugatuck, Douglas, Paw Paw, and Holland, and was served by the *Puritan* and *Argo*. This latter route connected with interurban lines running to Grand Rapids and was known as the "Grand Rapids Short Line." The southern route, received the more poetic title, "The Dustless Way to Happyland."

Both of the company's routes were heavy fruit carriers on the west-bound trips. It was a usual morning's sight to behold the Chicago docks piled to the roofs of the sheds with crates of grapes from Paw Paw, and with baskets of peaches, pears, and apples from Berrien County. In a few hours this would be carted off to the South Water Street Market, and by midafternoon would be on the streets of Chicago in many a fruit peddler's cart.

These were the halcyon days of the passenger ships out of Chicago. At nine o'clock on any morning nearly a dozen ships would steam down the river in a grand parade. With the Goodrich docks nearest the river mouth, the big *Christopher Columbus* usually led the parade out. After it came one or two Graham and Morton ships, then the *City of South Haven*, the *Theodore Roosevelt*, the *Eastland*, and many smaller craft.

In 1912 the new steamer *City of Grand Rapids* was launched at the Cleveland yards of the American Shipbuilding Company. This palatial vessel measured 315 feet in length, by 49 feet beam, and was rated at 3061 tons. Quadruple expansion engines driving a single screw gave her a speed of better than twenty miles per hour. Her owners had stipulated that she be very speedy, because at that time they had stiff competition in the fruit trade, particularly from the St. Joseph-Chicago

Steamship Company, which operated the *Eastland*. The *City of Grand Rapids* soon proved to be faster than the *Eastland*, and indeed the fastest cross-lake ship, excepting perhaps the *Theodore Roosevelt*. Because her trade always took her directly east from Chicago, she never came to engage in speed tests with the other fast Chicago ships, the *Manitou* and *Virginia*, whose destinations took them nearly due north.

From the time of the loss of the *Chicora* in 1895, the Graham and Morton line had not suffered a serious accident to its ships nor one involving the loss of life. The *Holland*, running true to form, had been in trouble several times, usually due to mechanical failures, but always without casualty. The other ships had perfect records, a fact made much of in the contemporary advertising campaigns of the line.

However, on September 1, 1914, an event occurred which bordered on being a major accident, and was only kept from being one by the sheer daring of Captain Oscar C. Bjork, commander of the *City of Chicago*. While the vessel was bound back to Chicago from Benton Harbor in the late afternoon, fire broke out in the aft cargo hold. At the time the lake was almost calm, there being a light westerly breeze. When Captain Bjork saw that after every effort had been made to extinguish the fire, it still gained headway, he ordered the boiler room crew to bank the grates with as much coal as they could get in while they had time, before the blazes drove them out of the stokehold. He ordered full speed ahead, and raced for Chicago. The ship's speed, and the direction of the wind, kept the flames astern; while the crew and passengers were herded as far forward as possible. He sent word of the ship's plight by wireless, and asked for assistance when the ship would reach the harbor. With the fire and smoke pouring out astern the ship eventually made Chicago, where the fire tugs *Greene Stewart*, *Dennis Swenie*, and *Illinois* were waiting. Captain Bjork brought the big side-wheeler to a crashing stop alongside the wooden harbor pierhead, where gangplanks were let out and all descended safely. Meanwhile the three fire tugs closed in and not only put out the fire, but thoroughly doused a goodly number of passengers who had no shelter on the open pier. Though the ship was badly damaged astern there was no loss of life, nor even injury, except for the soaking, to anyone on board. The vessel was given a thorough rebuilding and had her two stacks replaced by a central one; she came out the next season as the *City of St. Joseph*.

During one season, the line engaged in the Lake Superior trade, with the chartered ship *Pere Marquette 5*, which made a week's cruise to Houghton and Hancock. The old *City of Traverse* carried freight for the line for a season or two about 1915-16.

In 1917 the *Puritan* was requisitioned by the United States Navy and served as a transport. By this time, too, all of the older and smaller vessels had been disposed of, as was the big *Holland*, which had been sold in 1916. During the five years, 1917 to 1921 inclusive, the line had only three ships, The *City of Grand Rapids*, the *City of Benton Harbor*, and the *City of St. Joseph*. The *Puritan* was not bought back when she returned to the lakes after the war. In 1921, the Detroit and Cleveland Navigation Company side-wheelers, *City of Alpena II* and *City of Mackinac II*, were bought and reconditioned and renamed respectively *City of Saugatuck* and *City of Holland*. At the same time the line changed the color scheme of its ships again, this time from dark green hull back to all white, and from plain black stacks, to black with a broad orange yellow band and the monogram GM in black on the band. The old phrases "The Grand Rapids Short Line" and the "Dustless Way to Happyland" no longer appeared on the time tables, for now, the Graham and Morton ships were "The Steel Fleet of White Flyers."

Before this expansion the company had been in financial difficulties and in the hands of receivers for a year or two. There was a temporary increase in lake travel after the war and the company had managed to retrieve itself then. Much credit for the re-establishment of the solid financial basis of the line was due to the efforts of Mr. J. Stanley Morton, Jr. The Benton Harbor *News-Palladium* in 1920 carried an editorial commending Mr. Morton for his energy and ability. It stated that since the Graham and Morton line was a home industry of Benton Harbor and St. Joseph, and that since Mr. Morton had been one of the community's most generous philanthropists, it was particularly consoling to see his greatest enterprise functioning well again. The editorial commended Morton's civic leadership and generosity, and wished him all success for the future.

With the acquisition of the two former Detroit and Cleveland ships, a new line was established between Chicago and Michigan City, Indiana, for day excursions. In the years before the war this route had been served by the Indiana Transportation Company, with the steam-

ers *Indianapolis*, *United States*, and *Theodore Roosevelt*. After these ships had gone to the Atlantic in 1917, the Goodrich line covered the route for a year or two with another former Detroit and Cleveland ship, the *Florida*. Graham and Morton took over this route in 1922.

While the Graham and Morton Line enjoyed a period of great prosperity in the first half of the twenties, it later ran into an insurmountable difficulty when the Chicago property holdings of the company were condemned by the city to make way for a new super-highway, which was to run along the entire southern bank of the Chicago River, from Michigan Boulevard to the fork, almost a mile west. This project had unseated all the Chicago passenger lines except Goodrich Transit and Michigan Transit, whose docks were east of the site of the project. After several apparent solutions had failed, the company's directors agreed to approve a merger with the Goodrich Transit Company, which possessed ample dock space, free of all bridges. This merger was effected on October 16, 1924.

When the season of 1925 arrived, the vessels came out in the colors of the Goodrich line, and remained thus until this line ceased operations during the depression in the early thirties. The vessels of the Graham and Morton line, excepting the *City of Grand Rapids*, were old and past their best days. After 1933 they lay for several years at docks in various west Michigan ports, and were eventually towed to the bone-yard at Sturgeon Bay, Wisconsin. In 1937 the *City of Benton Harbor* was used as a dance hall at Green Bay, Wisconsin. After being damaged by fire there in 1938, her hull was broken up. The *City of Holland* also fell to the ship breakers in 1940. The hulls of the *City of St. Joseph* and *City of Saugatuck* were bought by Captain John Roen and converted into barges and used in the pulpwood trade. The former parted her lines in a storm on Lake Superior late in 1942, and was wrecked. The *City of Saugatuck*, now called the *Leona*, is still in service.

The *City of Grand Rapids*, on the other hand, has been kept in operation by new owners continuously on Lake Michigan, and in late years on her old line between Chicago and St. Joseph. But even this perpetuation of the "Dustless Way to Happyland" is, according to latest reports, due to terminate soon. It is said on reliable authority that the *City of Grand Rapids* will not be in operation in 1948. If this

is true, then only the tug *Chicago Harbor No. 4* and the barge *Leona* will be active survivors of the Graham and Morton fleet.

Not long ago, under the title "Vanishing Fleets,"² I retold the story of the package freighters of the Great Lakes. Later I recounted the story of Chicago's Goodrich line, in a paper called "Red Stacks in the Sunset." In this article I have reviewed the story of another of the fleets that are no more. The package freighters have truly vanished from our Inland Seas: and the Goodrich vessels are but a hazy memory. The Graham and Morton line is no more. The fact that much of our Great Lakes history must necessarily deal with the past is a challenge to us. We are not in a position to restore the ships that are gone, for we are not shipowners or great financiers, but only ordinary people; ship lovers, it is true, but no more. It is for us, rather, to keep alive the realities of the past. We have the means, the ability, the common interest, indeed, almost the duty to preserve these great facts for those who may seek them henceforth. The motto of the Great Lakes Historical Society of Cleveland is one which applies to us also,—*"To Preserve A Great Past For A Great Future."* This is our challenge; this our task; this our duty.

²See *Inland Seas*, 2:7-16 (January, 1946).

Pioneers at Hulbert

Richard C. Hulbert

IT WAS IN THE EARLY SEVENTIES of the last century that my father, Francis R. Hulbert, and Louis Pond left the fishing hamlet of Epoufette, on the north shore of Lake Michigan, in midwinter, on a timber-cruising trip. My father had reason to believe that there was some white pine timber on some vacant government lands near Salt Point, on the south shore of Lake Superior. The purpose of the trip was to cruise those lands, and determine whether any of them were worth purchasing for the timber on them. White pine was the only kind of timber that had any commercial value in that locality at that time.

There was no railroad in the eastern part of the Upper Peninsula then, and no roads of any kind for them to follow on their trip across the peninsula. It was just a case of putting on snowshoes, taking a compass and what camp outfit and provisions they could carry on their backs, and striking out through the woods. To go in a straight line from Epoufette to Salt Point would take them across several swamps where the brush would be thick and their progress would be slow. They could avoid several of the swamps and have more open pine and hardwood forests to travel through if they went north until they reached a lake that the Indians called the Lake of the Pits, and then changed their course to northeast. This lake now appears on many of the maps of the Upper Peninsula as Hulbert Lake.

Not far from the lake, and to the south and west of it, lies a broad tamarack and cedar swamp. In crossing that swamp the two men found the tracks of a band of wolves chasing a deer. Curious as to how many wolves there might have been after that deer, they followed the tracks in the snow until they found a place where they had been running side by side. There were twenty of them. The deer and the wolves were running to the north on much the same course that father and Pond were traveling. Doubtless the deer was trying to reach the Lake of the Pits before the wolves overtook it. In the summer time that would have meant safety for it; it could then jump into the lake, swim across it, and be rid of the wolves which

would give up the chase when they reached the lake shore. But in the winter time the lake would be covered with ice and snow that would only make it harder for the deer to outrun the wolves. Perhaps the deer had never seen the lake in the winter time and did not know what was ahead of it. When the two men reached the lake they found that the deer had run out on the ice and the wolves had killed it there. A few bones, a few pieces of skin, and plenty of hair in the snow were all that remained of the deer.

Night was coming on, and the two men camped near the east end of the lake. They had no tent; that would have been considered too heavy to carry. In preparing their camp for the night, a green maple tree was cut down and then cut into short logs, or bolts. The butt log was rolled up against a green hemlock tree. The maple log next to the butt cut was placed on top of the butt, and some stakes helped to hold it in place. In this way they had a backlog for their fire that was two logs high. In front of this backlog, a fire of light wood was built. As the light wood burned down to a bed of coals, small logs of green maple were thrown on it. The green maple burned slowly and kept adding to the bed of coals.

A bed of balsam boughs was laid in front of the fire, and a small square of canvas was put up back of the brush bed and leaning over it so as to catch the heat from the fire and reflect it to the bed. This canvas reflector also kept falling snow from the bed. Finally, with the night's supply of wood cut and supper over, the two men rolled up in their blankets and went to sleep while the bitter cold of a mid-winter night in the north settled down about them.

During the night Pond wakened his companion and told him that the wolves had found their tracks and were after them; he had heard them coming. Father threw more wood on the fire and looked about and listened, but could neither see nor hear anything of the wolves. Twice, after that, during the night they went through the same performance. In the morning they found out what had disturbed them. There was a porcupine in the hemlock tree at the foot of which they had built their fire, and he wanted to go home. When all was quiet and the fire low, he would descend the tree to see if he could pass the fire, but on hearing the men's voices he would hide among the thick branches and remain quiet until the fire was low again.

Father found some pine lands near Salt Point that were well worth purchasing, but he also ran into some trouble there. He found the snowshoe tracks of another timber cruiser who had been looking over the same lands. The tracks ran in straight lines and at regular intervals; only a timber cruiser would leave such tracks in that forest. Father finally found tracks that showed that the cruiser had taken a course to the northwest, toward the Lake Superior shore. That meant that the other cruiser had crossed father's tracks and was on his way to the land office to file an application for the purchase of the lands. It also meant he was a day's travel ahead of father and Pond.

It was the kind of a situation that called for a little thinking. The cruiser who first filed his application to purchase would get the lands. The land office was at Marquette on the south shore of Lake Superior to the west of them. The easiest way to reach Marquette would be to walk on the ice along the shore of the lake. Going to the north around Whitefish Point and then to the west to Marquette meant a walk of about one hundred and fifty miles. To race on foot for that distance was not a pleasing prospect. The other cruiser was a day ahead of them. If they tried to overtake and pass him they must travel faster than he did; they would be tired out when they overtook him, while he would be comparatively fresh. The odds would be against them that way. They could not expect, either, to go through the woods and pass him in that way. The swamps and thickets of northern Michigan would make it impossible for them to travel as fast through the woods as a man would on the open ice of the lake.

Father finally told Pond that he was going to take the long way around. He would go back across the peninsula to the north shore of Lake Michigan. He would follow that shore west until he reached a railroad that ran from Chicago to the Marquette country. If the other cruiser thought he was not being followed he would not hurry.

It was late in the day so the two men made camp for the night. There were still two or three hours of cruising that should be done before they left, and that was done in the morning. Then they struck out to the south to cross the peninsula again. Through the hardwood and pine forests they made good time. They crossed the Lake of the Pits again on the ice that covered it. But in the swamps, and in the thickets that had come up in old burnings, they had to fight the brush. Night came on and they stopped for a rest. The moon

would come up in two or three hours, and it would be nearly full. If they could not see to read a compass they could keep the general direction by the position of the moon. So they were soon on their way again through the moonlit winter forest. Morning found them on the ice-covered shore of Lake Michigan. In less than twenty-four hours they had walked forty-five miles on snowshoes through a forest where there was not even a trail to follow. And they had carried their packs containing their outfit and provisions.

Here, on the lake shore, the two men parted. Mr. Pond turned to the east, toward his home near St. Ignace. Father went to the west over the ice that covered the lake. He arrived at Marquette before the other cruiser, and he purchased the lands he wanted; but he spent most of the next two weeks in a hotel bed waiting for his feet to heal. He had worn moccasins on the trip, and his feet had been chafed and sore from snowshoeing before he reached the Lake Michigan shore. Walking on the ice fields along that shore had made them worse, and by the time he reached Marquette his feet were almost covered with blisters and sores.

While he was waiting for his feet to heal his mind kept going back to the lake where the wolves had killed the deer. Even in the winter time, as he had seen it, the lake had a singular beauty. The shores were dry, and well suited for cottage and homesites. There was a fine forest of good-sized timber on the lands surrounding the lake, with maple predominating. He thought it would be fine to own those lands, and try to put them to the best of human uses. He would build a road around the lake, and subdivide the lands near the shore into cottage and homesites. He would cut some of the mature timber, but maintain a perpetual forest. The lands were inaccessible, but with the hope of the pioneer, he thought that some way might be found to make them accessible. There was no way to market maple timber there at that time, but perhaps there would be in the not distant future. Father bought the lands surrounding the lake, but he did not live to cut the timber on them, or to put in any permanent development there. He lost most of the property he owned in the financial panic of 1893. He died in 1896, and not long after that the title to the lands passed out of the Hulbert family through tax deed and mortgage. They came back into the family ownership a

number of years later, largely through the kindness of a lumberman of that locality, Mr. A. M. Chesbrough.

I became acquainted with Mr. Chesbrough through the sale of logs to Chesbrough Brothers for their mill at Emerson, near the mouth of the Tahquamenon River. We became friends, and were, for several years, partners in a logging and timber brokerage business. We bought and sold many thousands of acres of northern Michigan timber lands, and operated logging camps on several branches of the Tahquamenon River. Each of us had undying faith in the integrity of the other. We would go into transactions involving tens of thousands of dollars without any written contract as to the division of the profits or losses, or as to the charges that were to be made against the transactions. And nothing ever happened to impair our faith in each other's integrity.

Some little time after the Hulbert family lost title to the lands surrounding the lake Chesbrough acquired title to them. It was a few years after the title had passed to him that he informed me one day that he was going to make me a present of a half interest in the lands. We would own them together. There was no change in the ownership of the lands for several years after this until I, and other members of the Hulbert family, purchased the other half interest from Chesbrough, and the lands were once more the property of the Hulbert family. This happened after the death of my father.

After my father purchased the lands at the lake, there was little change in that locality for a number of years. The lake was inaccessible, and even the timber that was on the lands could not be marketed.

After a time the railroad running from St. Ignace to Marquette was built. It passed about three and a half miles to the southwest of the lake; in what was known as the Hendrie swamp. This was part of the Tahquamenon swamp; a locality that had gained much notoriety during the building of the railroad because of its sinkholes and floods. The upper part of the ledge of rock at Tahquamenon Falls was blasted away to help drain this great swamp. Not long after this the branch railroad from Soo Junction to Sault Ste. Marie was built. This was better. It passed about two miles to the north of the lake, with dry lands and a maple forest between the lake and the railroad.

It was about that time that the first building used by white people was put up at the lake. It was a small log cabin with a shake roof

and a door that was made of a single piece of pine split out of a large log. When I first saw the cabin, I was of the opinion that the only tools used in building it had been an ax and an augur; and the only materials that had not been procured there in the woods were a window sash and a few nails. It was occupied by some hunters who, through the fall of the year, killed deer and shipped the saddles to Detroit, where they were paid four cents a pound for the meat. The deer were run into the lake with hounds, and the hunters shot them from dugout canoes. I was told that during the fall months they killed over sixty deer in this way. And there seemed to be plenty of deer left in that locality. The saddles were prepared for shipment in a very simple way. The body of the deer was skinned from the neck to the last rib, or to the loin. The entrails were removed, and the body of the deer cut in two where the skinning ended. The skin that came from the front part of the body was drawn back over the exposed flesh and fastened so as to protect the flesh from dirt in shipping. These saddles were easy to pack out of the woods, and could be sold during the fall of the year. The front half of the deer was left in the woods to rot.

With the building of the railroad from Soo Junction to Sault Ste. Marie completed, father bought timbered lands between the lake and the railroad, including the lands on which the townsite of Hulbert is now located. He had decided to go into some lumbering operations there. He applied to the railroad company for a sidetrack on his lands so that he could ship supplies in by the carload, and so that he might be able to ship products out. They complied with his request and made the place a flag station for certain passenger trains, and for local freight trains. It soon appeared on the railroad time tables as Hulbert; they had given the station his name.

I remember quite well how the place looked when I stepped off the train there a short time after that. The forest on the lower lands south of the railroad was mostly hemlock, giving way to maple on the higher lands. North of the railroad was a swamp, a branch of the Tahquamenon swamp. A small clearing of perhaps two or three acres had been made in the hemlock forest. There were a few log camp-buildings in the clearing, and a trapper's cabin stood near the railroad platform. The tree stumps had not been removed from the clearing, and they and most of the ground were well blackened from

the fires used in making the clearing. It was just a small black hole in a hemlock forest, on the edge of a swamp.

I was much interested in the trapper's cabin. The skin of a wildcat was stretched for drying on the door, and the skins of many other animals were in various stages of drying nearby. Steel traps were hanging from pegs under the eaves. The door was open and I could see a rack on the wall well filled with shotguns and rifles. There seemed to be all the outfit in the cabin that you would expect two prosperous trappers to have. One of them, Sandy Masters, was standing in the doorway. I must have done some sniffing as I passed for he smiled and said, "Does it smell good?"

"It certainly does," I answered. "What is it?"

"Wild duck stew," he replied. "It's just about ready to eat. Better stop and have supper with us."

However, my father had told me to go direct from the train to his logging camps and report to the foreman there, so I only stopped to ask if they shot the ducks on the lake. "No," said Sandy Masters, "the east branch of the Tahquamenon river is only half a mile from here and we have a canoe over there. We get all the ducks we want on the river."

Shortly before the financial panic of 1893, maple lumber came into strong demand. A firm of wholesale lumber dealers in Buffalo, New York, offered to take all the maple lumber that father could produce at a price that should have netted him a very substantial profit. The firm of Bullen Brothers and Holly, from southern Michigan, offered to build a sawmill at Hulbert, log timber, and cut it into lumber at a price that would have left father a good margin of profit if he sold at the price offered by the Buffalo firm. Contracts were entered into between him and Bullen Brothers and Holly. He also signed a contract with an eastern man, Charles D. Rood, who agreed to help in financing the operation for a share of the profits that would be coming to father.

It all looked very promising. The clearing at Hulbert was extended to the east to allow for a millsite and a banking ground that would hold over a million board feet of logs. To the south it was extended for some distance to make room for cottages for the employees. Bullen Brothers and Holly put up a well-built sawmill that would cut about twenty-five thousand feet of lumber a day. They also put up board-

ing house buildings, a shop, and several other buildings. Several of their employees put up cottages.

Logging operations were soon under way, and it was not long before the mill began turning out lumber, which went into pile for drying. But before much of the lumber was dry enough for shipment, financial conditions throughout the country took a turn for the worse. The panic was on. The price of maple lumber kept dropping until it was almost impossible to sell it at any price, and it became evident that operations could not be continued. So Bullen Brothers and Holly moved away, and all their employees moved also. Even the trappers left the place, and it became a deserted village.

To protect Mr. Rood for cash that he had put into the proposition, father had given him a mortgage on the lands at the lake, on the townsite at Hulbert, and on some other property that he owned. And, to help take care of his personal and family expenses, while waiting for the lumber to be sold, he had obtained a loan from another man and had given as security a mortgage on his home in St. Ignace. He expected, of course, to pay these mortgages with money to be obtained from the sale of the lumber in pile at Hulbert; but, with the panic on, the lumber could not be sold, and the mortgage on the home was foreclosed. With his home taken from him, with his cash almost exhausted, and with his lumber unsalable, he moved his family to the deserted townsite at Hulbert. We occupied a building he had put up there while the mill was in operation.

The lumber was finally turned over to a lumber broker to sell, with the understanding that the proceeds were to be turned over to Mr. Rood and were to be applied on the mortgages that father had given to him. The broker sold the lumber to a firm in New York state, taking that firm's notes for most of the purchase price. The lumber was shipped, but before any of the notes were paid the purchasing firm went into bankruptcy. The notes were never paid. Lumber that at today's prices would be worth close to fifty thousand dollars, brought less than a hundred dollars to be applied on father's indebtedness to Mr. Rood. That left the lands at the lake, the townsite, and other lands, mortgaged in an amount that was far beyond their value.

Not only did father's financial affairs seem to be hopelessly tangled, but his good health was gone. The worry and striving against adverse conditions, had done their work. The physician who attended him

during his last illness remarked to me several times that he had a wonderful vitality. Men who went with him on timber-cruising trips have told me that he was the hardest man to follow that they ever went into the woods with. He seemed to be tireless. This vitality and strength were the result not only of his own living habits, but they were also the heritage given him by generations of puritanical ancestors. Now he knew that he would never again roam the woods.

But there was a ray of hope in the situation; and it was not an altogether bad ray at that—his family. Perhaps you will think that he could not expect much help from a family of young people who had been taken from a good comfortable home in town to that deserted townsite out there in the woods. The nearest neighbors were over five miles away, and the nearest store was at Newberry, about twenty miles distant. The only roads out of Hulbert then were the railroad and a wagon road father had built to the lake. The townsite clearing was still littered with blackened stumps. Empty buildings were already beginning to show signs of decay. There wasn't a painted building in the place. The family store of cash was almost exhausted, father sick, and a five year financial panic was on.

Here is what happened. Those young people looked about them to see what could be done there, and then got busy. My oldest brother, William Hulbert, began making a fine study of wild animal life. He was soon writing stories on that subject and selling them to a Chicago newspaper. Then one of the editors of *McClures Magazine* asked him to write a series of articles for them. They published these stories in their magazine and then in book form. Many schools throughout the country have been using an abbreviated edition of this book as an auxiliary reader. Gradually, throughout his life, the market for his writing broadened until he became a contributor to many of the leading periodicals of the country. After his death in 1913, I received letters from a number of editors praising his work and his character. His writing began in that deserted townsite up there in the woods where many might have said that there were no opportunities for young people.

My oldest sister, Katherine Grace Hulbert, began to write short stories for a firm that published Sunday school papers. She was soon offered, and accepted, a position in their editorial offices in Chicago. For several years, thousands of children found pleasure in reading

her stories. I used to marvel at the amount of work she would turn out. The firm she worked for gave her two names to write under besides her own name. This was so that they could print several of her stories in the same paper, and the readers would not know that one young lady had written them all. Later on, Mary L. Hulbert, my next oldest sister, accepted a position in the same office in Chicago.

With the exception of John and me, the other young people of the Hulbert family were too young at that time to be expected to do much in the way of helping out with the family income, although they did help in that way a little later on.

John and I started in to do anything we could find to do that would help in paying family living expenses. There was one team of horses in Hulbert at that time. This team had been a part of a logging outfit owned by father. The other teams in the outfit had been sold to provide money for groceries, meats, and clothing. This team could be put to work.

The only timber products that could be sold there at that time were white and norway pine logs. Several of the mills cutting pine were running low on supply, and they were in the market, at a low price, for pine logs and standing pine timber. The Hulberts did not have the cash with which to buy any substantial amount of pine timber. But over near the river were several forty-acre tracts of land each one of which had a few pine trees on it. Why not buy the few pine trees that were on one forty, convert them into logs, raise money on the logs, and then buy the few trees that were on the next forty, and so on. Perhaps no mill company could be found that would buy such a small lot of logs. In that case there would be no pay check when we had the first lot cut, and the work would have to come to a stop without a pay check, but it seemed to be about the only work available that might fit into the economic scheme of things. It solved the problem of work for us.

We went to work at our one-team logging job, doing a large share of the work ourselves. We cut roads, felled timber, skidded logs, and hauled them to the banking ground. We worked steadily like two good lumberjacks all through the fall and winter. In the spring the logging operations had to come to a stop; we could not work a team in that swamp except when there was frost and snow on the ground. But we kept on working. We cleared up some land and put in a

large garden. We picked up some lumber at the millsite, bought a little more, and built some temporary cottages at the lake. Summer boarders were advertised for, and some came. Mother and those of her daughters who remained in Hulbert did the housework and cooking.

Deer were very plentiful around the lake that summer. The shipping of saddles had been stopped, and very few hunters came into that locality, even in the fall of the year. Most of the deer were just dying of old age, or as the wolves got them. It seemed too bad to have all that good meat going to waste, so once in a while we would pick off a fat young buck. It helped out with the family larder, and the summer boarders seemed to like it. With an icehouse and a smokehouse at hand there was not much of that meat wasted. No attempt was made to hide the venison from game wardens because that was not necessary. The local game warden about that time was a trapper, and several times I had found his traps baited with venison at a time of the year when you would hardly expect the game warden to have such meat in his traps. And we never heard that he made any arrests. The conclusion drawn was that the trapper had himself appointed game warden so that the game warden would not arrest the trapper. It was a happy solution of the problem as to how best to keep all those deer from going to waste in that particular locality at that particular time. The local game warden had suspended the game laws there. It may seem that I was getting more than my share of fat young bucks at that time. But as I have not killed a deer in the last thirty years I have probably struck a pretty fair average.

Another year passed by much as the last one had. Profits were small and were quickly absorbed by living expenses. And then it happened that the leading industry at Hulbert became sadly crippled. One of the horses died. All chances for efficient team work in the logging business seemed to be gone, because we did not have enough money to buy another horse. You could hardly expect the one remaining animal to skid and haul logs all by himself.

There was something exasperating, too, about the way it happened. It looked, almost, as though he might have committed suicide to spite us. He was a fretful animal, forever pawing the ground, pawing the air, or going through maneuvers that did not seem necessary in the logging business. We, who were just ordinary lumberjacks, thought

he put on too many flourishes, and sometimes we told him so. Perhaps he was a reincarnation of some knight's charger and could not help it. However it was, he got a front foot over the halter strap and threw himself down to the stable floor. Whether it was a broken back, a broken neck, or just strain, did not matter. The logging operations of John and Richard Hulbert must come to an end because one horse had died. It wasn't much of an outfit.

Not being able to continue in the logging business, we were soon in the timber brokerage business; buying and selling forests. How could we buy a forest when we could not buy a horse? It happened this way.

When not otherwise occupied, I prowled about in the woods. I was not altogether contented with my lot, and sometimes a long tramp in the forest would help to relieve my feelings. If the meat supply was low, and the season of the year right, I would take a rifle with me and watch for fat young bucks. Late one afternoon I returned from such a trip and announced that I had found a fine tract of white pine timber, enough to make it worth while to put in a good-sized logging camp. It was on a large island of dry land out in the middle of the big swamp to the east. It was an easy logging job because it was near the railroad, and it was also not far from the river, and it could be bought for much less than its real value.

This announcement did not cause much excitement. The other members of the family knew that they had no money with which to buy tracts of pine. But I went on to explain that the timber was on lands that had been given to the railroad company as a grant for building the road. One of that company's cruisers had been in Hulbert about two weeks before, and I had asked him if his company had any pine timber on their lands to the east. He had said that there was no pine there worth mentioning. I was of the opinion that a lazy timber cruiser had been sent to look those lands over; he did not like to fight the brush in the swamp, and he did not go into the swamp far enough to find the pine. He had reported the lands as being all cedar and tamarack swamp, with no pine on them. The owners did not know the pine was there. If we, the Hulberts, only had a little cash, it would be an easy tract to buy, and it would be an easy tract to sell because it was good timber and a

short haul. Perhaps the way I mentioned buying and selling put an idea into father's mind. "If I was only well and strong enough," he said, "I would cruise it out, and we might be able to buy and sell it with an option; get an option to buy, and sell it before the option expired. The purchaser would have to put up some cash, and we would use that money to pay the seller."

The following morning father told John and me to take a tent and some blankets and provisions over to the tract of pine. Perhaps, if he had enough strength left to get over there, and had a camp near the center of the tract, he could cruise it out a little at a time. It was the last timber-cruising that he ever did. Perhaps there was a satisfaction to him during the next few months in knowing that it helped to put his family on the road to a more prosperous way of living. An option on the timber was obtained, and before it expired the tract was sold, and close to a thousand dollars had dropped into the family pocket book.

I immediately announced that I was going to try to put over another deal like that. From the top of the hill that was just south of the townsite I had seen a lot of pine tops which must be two or three miles to the north and east, and I wanted to go over there to see what I could find. But father was not happy about it. He said that he, himself, was too sick to do any more timber-cruising, and I had never done any such work except to go with him at times for company. I, however, insisted that I could do the cruising. I explained to father that when falling timber I had carried a log rule with me. Before I cut a tree down I would make a guess as to how much lumber it would make; after it was cut into logs I would measure the logs to see how close I had guessed the contents of the tree. Before I cut a tree down I would guess from its outside appearance how much defect or rot there was in it; when it was cut into logs, I had checked on that. There wasn't a timber cruiser in that part of the country who knew pine trees any better than I did.

"But," said father, "you have never had much experience in pacing the distance, or in running lines by compass. What are you going to do about that?"

"I'll pace from section corner to quarter post until I can pace accurately," I said. "And I'll run compass lines across sections from

quarter post to quarter post until I know that my compass work is all right."

"But even at that," said father, "it is hardly likely that we could put through another sale with an option, and I don't know as I care to risk any of the cash we have on your ability as a timber cruiser. Go look for pine timber if you want to, but I make no promises as to money."

So John and I, with packs on our backs, took to the woods. In about three weeks' time we had located and cruised another tract of pine timber; enough to make a winter operation for another camp. This timber was also on railroad grant lands; perhaps the same cruiser who had cruised the other tract for the railroad people had also cruised this one, for it had been very much underestimated and was worth more than the owners supposed it was. The pine was bought by the Hulberts with a small down payment in cash, and notes given for the balance. Before any of the notes came due, it had been sold for cash at a good profit.

Shortly after that I worked with an older timber cruiser, William Kilby, for several weeks in the timber about six miles east of Hulbert. Another tract of pine was assembled there, and arrangements for its sale were made as soon as the purchase of it was completed. Then John and I worked along the east branch of the Tahquamenon River northwest of Hulbert. We assembled two tracts in that locality; one near the river, and the other several miles to the north. The tract that was distant from the river was sold. We decided to put in a camp and log what was near the river. So in the month of October we built logging camps on the banks of the river some six or seven miles northwest of Hulbert.

That was in the year 1896. In November of that year Francis Hulbert died. It was then about twenty-five years since he had first seen Hulbert Lake and had decided to buy the lands surrounding it. He had never been able to carry out his plans for development at the lake, or at the townsite. Those lands were mortgaged beyond their value, and the title to them would probably pass out of his family altogether. But I think there came to him a satisfaction that has come to many of the early settlers of this country. He had been the pioneer with the vision. He had not seen that vision fulfilled, but he had at least blazed the way where others would follow. Per-

haps that was enough for one man. There was another thing that made the way easier for him during the last few months of his life. He was a man to whom the welfare of his family was the main purpose in life. He knew that his family had reached the stage where they were well able to go on in life without him. We took his body to Mackinac Island. As a young man he had spent several years there; and it was there that he had met and married Diantha Gillett.

The following winter did not see much change in the townsite of Hulbert. It was the base of supplies for the logging camp. But that did not help much, and was only a temporary affair. I spent a large share of my time in the camp. While the other young people in the Hulbert family had been up there in the woods for about three years at this time, I had put in most of my time there for five years, having worked in the camps there for about two years before the other young people of the family came to the place. I had done every kind of work that was to be done in a Michigan logging camp; and I knew every turn that a log should make on its way from the tree to the banking ground.

The camp paid top wages, and the men could see that the owners were trying to give them good board and housing conditions. The camp kept on its payroll none but old-time lumberjacks who understood their work, and were willing to work. It was the kind of a camp that the old-time lumberjack liked, and early in the winter I heard that it had been passed around among the men that they would "try and make a little money for the boss." They did that all right. It was a small camp of about thirty men, and it was in operation for only a few months. But when costs and profits were figured up in the spring it was found that the logging had been done at the remarkably low figure of three dollars and twenty-five cents per thousand board feet. And the little camp showed a profit of nearly five thousand dollars. Money seemed to be dropping into the family pocket book pretty regularly now.

The logs were sold to Chesbrough Brothers for their mill at Emerson, and were driven down the Tahquamenon River to that mill. Some news as to the efficiency of that camp must have gone to Emerson too, for in the spring, after making settlement for the logs, A. M. Chesbrough told me that he had a large amount of cash lying idle in the banks. He suggested that we form a partnership in which

he would supply the funds and I look after the investments. So the partnership firm of Hulbert and Chesbrough came into existence.

Then a bank in Sault Ste. Marie, where I had started an account, informed me that if I should need cash for my timber and logging business at any time they would be glad to loan me all that the law would allow them to, and without security or endorsement. Perhaps the fact that I had the right kind of a partner helped out in this. So I, whose one-team logging job had come to an end because one horse had died, found myself with a good cash balance in the bank, a good line of credit, and a millionaire for a partner—a millionaire who was to become a true and helpful friend.

The following year or two the townsite at Hulbert remained much the same. The firm of Hulbert and Chesbrough took over the camps on the east branch of the Tahquamenon River and enlarged them so as to accommodate about sixty men. We operated them over winter, cutting about five thousand cords of spruce pulpwood and some white pine logs.

It was about this time (the fall of 1897) that the Hulbert family, with the exception of me, moved to Chicago. The two older daughters had positions there with a publishing house. There was no school at Hulbert, and the younger members of the family needed educational facilities. The older members of the family had been teaching the younger ones until the last year of their residence there. When finances had finally permitted it, a teacher was hired and her salary was paid out of the family pocketbook. John Hulbert was offered, and accepted, a position with a wholesale paper firm in Chicago. The owner had been one of the summer boarders at the lake. Perhaps it would be of interest here to mention the fact that at the time this is written John Hulbert is in the logging business in western Oregon. He operates his own railroad, and in his camps he employs about a hundred and fifty men. His training as a logger began in that little one-team logging job at Hulbert. William wished to do some research work in the libraries in Chicago. I took a room at Sault Ste. Marie, but spent most of my time during the fall and winter at the camps north of Hulbert, and at some camps that Hulbert and Chesbrough were operating on the headwaters of the Hendrie River.

The townsite was not quite deserted, however. Two of the men employed in the camps had moved their families to Hulbert, but they were there only for the employment that the camps gave, and they moved away at a later date. The families of A. J. Dewitt and Lee Dewitt were the first to take up permanent residence in the place. They purchased land to the west of the townsite and cleared up farms there.

During the year 1898, financial conditions became quite normal again. The panic was over. The price of hardwood lumber had advanced, and showed signs of further improvement. I had purchased the sawmill, built by Bullen Brothers and Holly, which had remained idle for over five years. Mr. Chesbrough and I decided to put it into operation for a trial period; if the business was to our liking, we would tear the mill down and build a larger one.

So the little town took on new signs of life. Old buildings were repaired, and several more families moved in. The whistle of the mill was heard once more, and lumber was going into pile in the yard. But it did not last long. The business showed only a small profit. I had built up quite a business in the buying and selling of hardwood, hemlock, spruce, and cedar lands; I found it difficult to keep that timber brokerage business going, and at the same time keep the sawmill on a paying basis. The timber brokerage business showed a much greater profit than the sawmill did and the buying and selling of standing timber was much more to my liking, so I gave up the sawmill business. The mill was shut down, and the machinery sold and moved away. Once more the townsite became a place of empty buildings.

For over fifteen years after that it was well nigh a deserted village; but not quite. The Dewitts were there, and a few others moved in and took up land nearby. Several logging companies used it as a supply depot. During that period, however, the number of buildings on the townsite decreased rather than increased; some were torn down, and the lumber used for other purposes, some got into bad repair and fell down.

In the year 1918 the townsite began to show signs of permanent improvement. A Chicago firm built a woodenware plant there, new buildings went up, and streets were improved; roads were built that opened up nearby lands to settlement. A few years after that a

trunk line highway was built that made both the townsite and the lake accessible to automobile traffic. Summer cottages began to go up at the lake. Summer tourists in increasing numbers began to come to the lake, and to the townsite, and there were many hunting parties that came to that locality during the fall of the year.

It was many years since father had first arrived at the lake, on snowshoes, and just too late to see a band of twenty wolves kill a deer there. There had come to him there a mental picture of changes that would some day take place in that locality. Those changes were taking place, at last. Hulbert Lake has been a lake of many names. The Indians called it Lake of the Pits, because of some depressions in the surface of the land in that locality, and because of the depth of the lake; father named it Be-ne-gah-mah; and William Hulbert, in his writings, called it Glimmerglass. But most of those who have come there for recreation, have called it Hulbert Lake. Perhaps it is fitting that the local people have retained for the lake, and for the townsite, the name of that clean-living pioneer, Francis R. Hulbert.

An Early Michigan Poet: Louis Legrand Noble

Carl E. Burklund

ABOUT SIXTY-FIVE YEARS AGO there died in Ionia a man who might well have thought that he had secured for himself a certain, however small, place in American letters. He had appeared often in so distinguished an early magazine as *Graham's*, side by side with such celebrities as Longfellow, Lowell, Bryant, and Poe. He had "made" the standard anthologies of his time: Griswold's *Readings in American Poetry* and *The Poets and Poetry of America*, and Longfellow's *Poems of Places*. He had been written up, with portrait, in the Duyckincks' authoritative *Cyclopaedia of American Literature*. He had been included in so well-known a reference work as Allibone's *Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors*. He had published two volumes of poetry and as many of prose. In brief, he might have assumed, modestly enough, that his achievements, however short of greatness they were, would be remembered a few decades after his death. And yet, apparently, they were not, either by the nation at large or by his own state. He does not appear in any of the better known reference books after 1904, and even in so local and extensive a bibliographical work as Goodrich's *Michigan Authors* his name is not mentioned.¹

It is with no mistaken thought of Louis Legrand Noble as a genius unhappily forgotten that this brief notice of his life and work is offered. He is in no real sense a "discovery"; he was not a genius—not even a great talent. But his accomplishments were considerable, as were his powers: they deserve better than the oblivion that has overtaken them. As one of our pioneer poets—and a true one—who helped to sing the grandeur of the Michigan forest, he has a just claim upon our attention and our respect.

¹Rufus W. Griswold, *Readings in American Poetry* (New York, 1843); *Ibid.*, with additions by R. H. Stoddard, *The Poets and Poetry of America* (New York, 1873); Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, *Poems of Places* (Boston, 1879); Evert A., and George L. Duyckinck, *Cyclopaedia of American Literature* (New York, 1855); S. Austin Allibone, *Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors* (Philadelphia, 1870); Madge Knevels Goodrich, *A Bibliography of Michigan Authors* (Richmond, 1928).

The biographical data, save in outline, are meager indeed. Like other of our early poets, Noble was a son of emigrant parents who felt the call of the West and moved to Michigan when it was still largely a wilderness. He was born in New Lisbon, New York, on September 26, 1811.² When he was thirteen years old the family moved to Michigan, settling first in Ann Arbor in 1824, and in the following year taking up land on the Huron River about one mile and a half from the present village of Dexter. Here on the farm he spent his adolescence in the "vale of the Huron," which he later celebrated in his verse. After his father's death he went East for his education, attending Bristol College, Pennsylvania, and the General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church, located in New York city. He was admitted to orders in 1840, and became curate in the same year at St. Peter's Church in Albany, New York. From 1841 to 1844 he was rector of Christ's Church in Elizabeth City, North Carolina. In the latter year he married Sarah Ann Hayes. For the next decade or so he was rector of St. Luke's, at Catskill, New York. Here he became an intimate friend of Thomas Cole, the well-known "Father of the Hudson River School" of painting, a memoir of whose life he published in 1853. In the years immediately succeeding, he occupied several pastorates: in Chicago, Illinois; Glenn's Falls, New York; Fredonia, New York; and in Hudson City, New Jersey. From 1872 to 1880 he was professor of English literature in St. Stephen's College, Annandale, New York. In 1880 he came back to Michigan (which he had frequently revisited) to become rector of St. John's Church in Ionia. And here on February 6, 1882, he died.

There is little to draw upon for an understanding of his personality and type of mind save his own work. That he was warm-hearted and enthusiastic by nature his poetry makes clear. That his interest was substantial in painting as well as poetry is a fair surmise, for in addition to his friendship with Thomas Cole, he was also intimate with another painter, Frederick E. Church. In fact, he published a short study of the latter entitled *Church's Painting, The Heart of the Andes* (New York, 1859); and he undertook a cruise with him, the result of which

²*Twentieth Century Biographical Dictionary of Notable Americans* edited by John Howard Brown, (Boston, 1904). Both Duyckinck, *op. cit.* and Charles Lanman, *The Red Book of Michigan* (Detroit, 1871), with what seems less substantial authority, place his birth in 1812.

was a book called *After Icebergs with a Painter: A Summer Voyage to Labrador and Around Newfoundland* (New York and London, 1862). One may assume, too, from his poetry and prose, his considerable travel, and his various friendships, the possession of a well-rounded, cosmopolitan mind.

Such contemporary reputation as Noble enjoyed in poetry rested apparently on his long Indian poem "Ni-Mah-Min," published serially in *Graham's Magazine* in 1843, and on a handful of shorter pieces, notably "To a Flying Swan at Midnight, in the Vale of the Huron," a poem much anthologized in his own lifetime. Certain characteristics, good and bad, dominate them all. To a modern taste they suffer from the shortcomings of all the lesser and some of the greater poetry of their age in America. The sentiment is too lavish, the emotion too fervid, the diction too bestrewn with inversions, contractions, and "poeticisms." We are annoyed—perhaps unreasonably, for fashions change—by ecstasies too openly avowed, and "poetic" words too freely used. But after we have made all reasonable discount, we still find in his poetry admirable qualities. Noble has more than a touch of Bryant's majesty and sweep in his blank verse, the medium in which he is most successful—his indebtedness to the greater poet is obvious. He has depth of feeling and often a rich imagery. He can create atmosphere; and he can sustain a mood, when at his best, with an ample and dignified music. These are no small virtues and do much to compensate for the frequent lapses into sentimentalism.

The long semi-narrative, semi-dramatic poem, "Ni-Mah-Min" we shall discuss but briefly. Its interest to a contemporary student must lie in its historic rather than intrinsic appeal. It takes its place in that intriguing list of ambitious failures—before "Hiawatha"—to give poetic form to Indian materials.³ It has a further interest, to natives of Washtenaw County, in that its action is placed in the valley of the Huron River. As a poem, however, it is a failure. It is an ill-organized, confused story of murder, sorcery, revenge, and love among the Ottawa Indians. Although the framework of the poem is sufficient, the story itself is both vague and tedious. Three young friends, white men, wandering over the hills of the Huron, pause at an Indian burial ground containing three graves. While they rest, one of the young

³Another Michigan contribution, incidentally, to that list is Henry Whiting's *Ontwa, The Son of the Forest* (New York, 1822).

men, in some obscure way, is inspired by the genius of the place and becomes the mouthpiece through which the Indians who lie buried at their feet tell their story. Various characters are introduced from time to time and slowly the dramatic plot unfolds, compounded, as we stated before, of magic, violence, and love. Certain passages, especially those descriptive in character, have grace and a mild beauty, but the poem as a whole lacks distinction—it is much inferior to the poet's less ambitious attempts. A brief sample will show its level of attainment.

On Huron's hill the wind is still
All at the starry noon;
The cooling dew is in the blue,
And breathing round the moon
The dancer's hum, the singer's drum
Wake not that silent arch;
And while they dream all hearts do seem
To beat a silent march.
A mournful tone!—one voice alone—
Hark! hark! it stirs them all;
And now a yell!—afar it fell—
Afar the echoes fall.
Now all as one their dreams are done;
Each wildly looks around;
They speak no word—they all have heard
The shrill and dismal sound.
They heard, but then all still again
Are wood and valley dark;
Again to rest down sinks each breast;
But dogs will whine and bark.

On Huron's hill the wind is still
Long ere the break of day:
How sad and pale the moon doth sail
Her still canoe away!
Hark! hark again! it wakes the men
That waked them all before:
They cannot speak—they hear it shriek—
And they will sleep no more.
In mournful tone, one voice alone
Now sings a ghostly song:
Where goblin-hide the snowdrift dyed,
Where Mo-wah laid it out and lied,
It sings a ghostly song.

Noble's talents did not lie in the dramatic or narrative forms of poetry. Far better than "Ni-Mah-Min" in quality are some of the shorter pieces in which his genuine love of the wild frontier beauty found expression: the beauty of its still, primeval groves, its trumpeter swan, its clear lakes, and its majestic rivers. Like the romantic he was, he felt a close bond between himself and the forest scenes of his boyhood. One cannot doubt the sincerity or miss the eloquence of this passage from "Groves of the River Huron" in which he states his love:

O, I am glad you still are hand in hand
In the grand round of solitude! I joy
That yet in your magnificence ye move
With the rich summer garlanded; and feel
Ye bear for me a welcome on your brows.
For I have loved you from a very boy
With a most tender and unfailing love;
Nay, of your beauty spoken with a zeal
That has begotten many a wish to come
And kindle cottage fires beneath your green.
And here I own that I have never gone
Beyond the reach of your broad shadows; never
Beyond the music of your rustling; never
Beyond the music of your dropping dews.
Your image has pursued me to the waves,
Fleecing the rocks with whiteness; to the clouds,
Fleecing the mountain summits with their snow.
I own it here, you have possessed me so,
So cooled and shaded me in feverish dreams,
So haunted me, and with my feelings wrought,
In gardens, city parks, and walks embowered,
That I no less could do than seek once more
Your presence and your blessing . . .

But such scenes aroused in him not only a swift response to their beauty but, as in Bryant and Wordsworth, a deep sense of reverence for the eternal spirit brooding over and implicit in the primeval solitudes. In "Noon in the Groves of the Huron," another poem with the same setting, he underlines this profounder import.

Lone wilderness, of all the rolling hours
Is this thine own, thy chosen one for dreams?
Is the bee-murmur but the sound, the soft
Sweet music of thy breathing? do they tell,

Like silvery bells, the time, those liquid tones,
 In the cool chambers of the feathery nests?
 Or hast thou holy service, and dost keep
 Thy countless creatures motionless and hushed
 While thou are bent and breathless at the throne
 Of thy resplendent lord? Calm as the eye
 Of deep devotion is the lake; above,
 Meek willows bow each on the other's bosom;
 Along the brink, iris and harebell listen
 To their uplooking images below.
 Call it, O Solitude, thy solemn hour
 Of worship, the calm fellowship of woods,
 Earth, waiting waters, and the lingering winds,
 In one great act religious to the Power
 That pours into the breast of each its life,
 And heavenly beauty o'er the robes of all.

We shall complete our sampling of this "poet of the Huron" with a substantial portion of his best and best-known poem, "To a Flying Swan at Midnight, in the Vale of the Huron." In spite of its mannerisms and its occasional lushness, it has a good deal of beauty and power.

Oh, what a still, bright night! It is the sleep
 Of beauteous nature in her bridal hall.
 See, while the groves shadow the shining lake,
 How the full moon does bathe their melting green—
 I hear the dewdrop twang upon the pool.
 Hark, hark, what music! from the rampart hills,
 How like a far-off bugle, sweet and clear,
 It searches through the listening wilderness—
 A swan—I know it by the trumpet tone—
 Winging her pathless way in the cool heavens,
 Piping her midnight melody, she comes.

Beautiful bird, upon the dusk-still world
 Thou fallest like an angel, like a lone
 Sweet angel from some sphere of harmony.
 Where art thou, where? No speck upon the blue
 My vision marks from whence thy music ranges.
 And why this hour, this voiceless hour, is thine
 And thine alone, I cannot tell. Perchance
 While all is hushed and silent but the heart,
 Even thou hast human sympathies for heaven
 And singest yonder in the holy deep

Because thou hast a pinion. If it be,
 Oh for a wing, upon the aerial tide,
 To sail with thee a minstrel mariner!

.
 And hither, haply, thou wilt shape thy neck,
 And settle, like a silvery cloud, to rest,
 If thy wild image, flaring in the abyss,
 Startle thee not aloft. Lone aeronaut,
 That catchest on thine airy looking-out,
 Glassing the hollow darkness, many a lake,
 Lay for a night thy lily bosom here.
 There is the deep unsounded for thy bath,
 The shallow for the shaking of thy quills,
 The dreamy cove, or cedar wooded isle,
 With galaxy of water lilies, where,
 Like mild Diana, 'mong the quiet stars,
 'Neath over-bending branches thou wilt move
 Till early warblers shake the crystal shower
 And whistling pinions warn thee to thy voyage.

.
 Now peals the living clarion anew;
 One vocal shower falls in and fills the vale
 What witchery in the wilderness it plays!
 Shrill snort the affrighted deer; across the lake
 The loon, sole sentinel, screams loud alarm;
 The shy fox barks. Tingling in every vein,
 I feel the wild enchantment. Hark, they come,
 The dulcet echoes from the distant hills,
 Like fainter horns responsive; all the while,
 From misty isles, soft-stealing symphonies.

Thou bright, swift river of the bark canoe,
 Threading the prairie ponds of Washtenung,
 The day of romance wanes. Few summers more,
 And the long night will pass away unwaked,
 Save by the house dog, or the village bell;
 And she, thy minstrel queen, her ermine dip
 In lonelier waters.

Ah, thou wilt not stoop:
 Old Huron, haply, glistens on thy sky.
 The chasing moonbeams, glancing on thy plumes,
 Reveal thee now, a little beating blot,
 Into the pale Aurora fading.

There is no call to overestimate the poetry of Louis Legrand Noble. He did not alter the course of national letters; nor has the world done grave injustice in neglecting his work. But in addition to the historic significance of his verse, some of it assuredly is too good in its own right wholly to forget. Perhaps as a concluding observation we can do no better than paraphrase Lanman's statement in *The Red Book of Michigan*: Louis Legrand Noble was a true poet, and fully appreciated the grandeur and beauty of the forests of Michigan.

The University War Historian

F. Clever Bald

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, like other institutions of higher learning, was mightily affected by World War II. Male students and members of the faculties in large numbers left for service in the armed forces, in government agencies, in industry, or in research laboratories. The enrollment of women increased. Soldiers and sailors came to the campus for training in the various contract programs until at one time there were more than four thousand of them attending classes. Some courses were overcrowded, while others, considered not essential for winning the war, attracted few students. Extended vacations and the long summer closing became only pleasant memories, and graduation exercises were held three times a year instead of only in June.

Soon after Pearl Harbor, the university war board was appointed with instructions to survey the facilities of the university in order to discover what resources might be made available for furthering the national war effort, to make contacts with government agencies and inform them about the services which the university could perform, and to recommend to the president and the Board of Regents changes deemed necessary to place the university on a war footing.

The war board worked out an accelerated program to put the university on a year-round basis. Instead of the traditional two semesters and an eight-week summer session, three sixteen-week terms were set up and the summer session was retained. This arrangement required the elimination of the spring vacation, shortening the Christmas vacation to one week, and reducing the length of the periods between terms. The regents accepted the board's recommendation, and the first summer term opened on June 15, 1942.

The accelerated program, which was retained until June, 1946, permitted male students to complete a greater part of their college education, before being called into service, than would otherwise have been possible; enabled the university to provide specialists more quickly for war work; and prepared the way for the reception of men from the armed forces who would be in continuous residence.

The war board also arranged for the retraining of members of the faculties whose courses were not in demand so that they could teach subjects that were; established an information center where students could find all the latest government prospectuses and directives regarding reserve programs and selective service, with counselors to help them decide what they should do; assisted the department of physical education and athletics in developing a rigorous body conditioning course which was required of all male students, civilian and military alike; invited government agencies to establish their programs on the campus; sought projects for the engineering research department; and, in general, helped put the university on a war basis.

A new wartime agency was the division for emergency training, charged with developing programs which cut across college and departmental boundaries for civilians, for officers and enlisted men of the armed forces, and for veterans. Mr. Marvin L. Niehuss was appointed director of the division and co-ordinator of emergency training. In the latter capacity he negotiated contracts with government officials to provide for instructing, housing, and messing Army and Navy men sent to the university; and, as director of the division, he was supervisor of all the programs which it sponsored.

The division for emergency training was not another school or college. It was simply a temporary device to make the university organization more flexible and thus more easily adaptable to the changing exigencies of the war. The division had no faculty of its own, but borrowed from the various faculties men to plan the curricula and teach the courses. It did, however, keep complete records of the academic work of students in the division.

Putting the university on a war footing and carrying on the war-related programs required a great many meetings, conferences, preliminary reports, revised reports, final reports, letters, and notices. Papers relative to the wartime activities of the university accumulated rapidly, especially in the files of the newly created agencies: correspondence with government offices, contractual negotiations, interdepartmental communications, special curricula which were worked out, and mimeographed outlines and textbooks for new courses.

Recognizing the importance of preserving such documents and the desirability of recording the university's participation in the war effort, the regents in July, 1943, asked President Alexander G. Ruthven to

make a recommendation to them "presumably involving the appointment of a competent and appropriate person, to collate currently the records of such participation by the University in the war and ultimately to incorporate the material thus gathered into a comprehensive history."

At the August meeting, on the recommendation of President Ruthven, Mr. Howard H. Peckham, curator of manuscripts in the William L. Clements Library, was given the additional title of university war historian and attached to the staff of the Michigan Historical Collections, of which Dr. Lewis G. Vander Velde is the director. Three-fourths of his time was to be devoted to gathering records, issuing reports on the current status of the university's war activities, and preparing an account of the university's share in the national war effort. Mr. T. Hawley Tapping, representing the alumni association, and Mr. Clark Tibbitts, representing the war board, were added to the committee on university archives, which was given supervisory authority over the war historian; and the Michigan Historical Collections was designated as the principal repository for the records which he gathered.

Mr. Peckham at once informed administrative officers of the university, Army and Navy officers, and directors of wartime programs of the creation of the new office, and he requested that they preserve pertinent papers for delivery to him. Immediately he began collecting photographs of war-related activities on the campus and periodicals which were being issued by service groups, such as the Naval Reserve Officers' Training Corps' *Pelorus* and the Judge Advocate General's school's *Advocate*, and others published on the campus to be mailed to former students in the armed forces, such as the *English Department Newsletter* and the *Broadcasting Newsletter*. When similar papers later appeared, he arranged to have copies sent to his office for preservation.

Mr. Peckham also circularized the faculty, asking each individual to enter on the form which he provided an account of his war-related activities such as participation in civilian defense, war research, consultation service to war agencies or industries, membership on committees dealing with war-related matters, and teaching war training courses. The forms that were returned have been filed in the university war records.

To assist in publicizing the war effort of the university, the historian provided material for the university news service, wrote articles for the *Michigan Alumnus* and the *War Records Collector*, and served on the committee that supervised the preparation of the film "Michigan on the March." He also wrote a survey of the university's war activities up to December, 1943, "The University in the War," which was published as a bulletin of the bureau of alumni relations.

With the purpose of bringing to the university some of the important documentary source materials of the war, Mr. Peckham assisted the directors of the General Library, the Clements Library, and the Michigan Historical Collections in preparing a circular which was mailed to alumni and former students in the armed forces. Calling their attention to the fact that "What you are doing and seeing today will be history tomorrow," the circular urged them to send to the war historian broadsides, newspapers, propaganda leaflets, letters, diaries, and other significant papers. The response to this appeal was immediate; but for a time, the quantity of materials received was small.

The war historian was busy during 1943 and 1944 keeping in touch with the numerous Army and Navy programs that opened at the university, and the large engineering, science, and management war training program that had been operating since February, 1941. Some courses were given for a short time, such as those in epidemiology and thoracic surgery for officers of the Army Medical Corps. Others were given for two or three years. Among the latter were the Judge Advocate General's school which opened in September, 1942, and remained until January, 1946; the Army Japanese language school, from January, 1943, to December, 1945; the Army specialized training program from April, 1943, to March, 1945; the Reserve Officers' naval architecture group, which was transferred from the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis to the university in June, 1943, and continued until February, 1946; and the Navy V-12 program, from July, 1943, to June, 1946.

For all the programs there was a civilian director, a member of the faculty who had charge of the academic work and who wrote a report after the group had completed its course of training. Mr. Peckham made arrangements with these men to send copies of their reports and all papers relating to their programs to his office. Because the military records could not be left at the university, the war historian interviewed

Army and Navy officers frequently and recorded the information which they were permitted to give him. For security reasons, some of the activities and records were kept secret. Consequently, whenever it was possible, he obtained the promise of reports or of access to pertinent papers after the cessation of hostilities. This condition existed especially in regard to the Army Japanese language school which was under the jurisdiction of the Military Intelligence Service.

When large quantities of records relating to the university's war effort began to accumulate, lack of sufficient space in the quarters of the Michigan Historical Collections in the Rackham Building made it necessary for Mr. Peckham to move to an office on the mezzanine floor of the building. He remained there until July, 1944, when the room was required for the use of the Army civil affairs training school, far eastern program. He removed to the "West Forty" in the William L. Clements Library, at the invitation of the director, Dr. Randolph G. Adams. The change of location had no effect on the status of the war historian; he was still a member of the staff of the Michigan Historical Collections.

When Mr. Peckham resigned in January, 1945, to become director of the Indiana Historical Bureau at Indianapolis, the regents appointed the writer of this article, who was teaching in the history department, to succeed him on a full-time basis.

Although many papers had already been gathered, a larger volume became available during 1945 and 1946 as one program after another was terminated. The most extensive collections are those of the engineering, science, and management war training program, the Army civil affairs training schools, European and Far Eastern, the university war board, the division for emergency training, the European area and language group and the Asiatic area and language group in the Army specialized training program. They consist of correspondence, Army and Navy directives, personnel records, reports of directors and supervisors, sets of lecture outlines and notes, class lists, lesson plans, special textbooks prepared for the courses, and sets of examination questions. Certificates awarded by the War Department, the Navy Department, and other government agencies to the university in recognition of distinguished service have also been placed in the office of the war historian. All these records will be permanently preserved in the Michigan Historical Collections.

When a war-training program closed, the historian wrote an account of its work for publication in the *Michigan Alumnus*. He also gave talks before organizations on the campus, explaining the work of his office and showing representative documents from the collection.

In January, 1946, after nearly all the men and women who had been away on leaves of absence were back on the campus, the historian distributed to every member of the university staff and faculty a war-service questionnaire. Nearly a thousand of them were returned. Some individuals whose reports showed that they had had unusually interesting or important assignments were persuaded to write detailed accounts of their experiences. All these materials, of course, will be preserved.

Another activity of the historian has been the arranging of exhibits showing the participation of the university in the war. The most extensive were the five prepared for the alumni victory reunion in June, 1946, with the assistance of Miss Ethel A. McCormick, social director of women, and Mr. Henry D. Brown, of the Michigan Historical Collections. One of them occupied the two large galleries of the Rackham Building, one was in Alumni Memorial Hall, one on the concourse of the Women's League Building, one in the Clements Library, and one in the Michigan Historical Collections. The historian also wrote a condensed history of the university in the war which was published in the *Victory Reunion Program*.

The present incumbent wrote part of a bulletin issued by the bureau of alumni relations in 1945 entitled *To Michigan Alumni in Service*, urging them to collect and send to the university significant manuscript and printed documents. Although contributions as a result of the earlier request were coming in steadily, the new appeal increased greatly the volume of materials, especially after V-E and V-J days. Many letters, some diaries, and stories of operations in which the writers participated were received. The largest single collection of letters was given by Mrs. Ruth B. Buchanan of the University Museums staff. During the war she wrote to more than twenty-two hundred men and women in the service, the majority of them former students at the university. She also mailed out fifty-seven thousand copies of *The Michigan Daily*. "Aunt Ruth," as she was called by her correspondents, received letters of commendation for her services as a morale builder from General Dwight D. Eisenhower, Admiral Chester

W. Nimitz, and other Army and Naval officers. The letters from her "nieces" and "nephews," which fill six filing cases, have been given to the Michigan Historical Collections.

In addition to letters and other manuscript materials, the quantity of printed matter received from servicemen and women in the United States and overseas has been enormous. There are several thousand copies of the *Stars and Stripes*; hundreds of unit publications; propaganda leaflets issued by the United States and its allies, and by the Germans and the Japanese; proclamations; books; pamphlets; periodicals; a facsimile of the Imperial Japanese rescript declaring war on the United States; and, outside the category of printed materials, a match stick given by the late Marshal Yamashita, while he was a prisoner in Manila, to a military police officer.

The most indefatigable collector was Captain Rowland M. Myers, who packed and sent to the university war collection 345 cartons of books, newspapers, periodicals, broadsides, propaganda leaflets, maps, and other printed matter. Most of it consists of Nazi official publications which were marked for destruction. Through the efforts of Captain Myers, the university now has an extensive collection of valuable historical source material.

The war historian made a card index of donors and filed individual contributions in separate folders. Each item was marked with the donor's number. Some day, the materials will be sorted and distributed among the General Library, the Clements Library, and the Michigan Historical Collections, the import of the subject matter being the criterion of selection. Items which have a definite association with Michigan will be deposited in the Michigan Historical Collections; rare Americana will remain in the Clements Library; and the rest will go to the General Library.

While the war training programs were on the campus, and while the great quantity of materials from overseas continued to come in, the historian had little time for extensive writing. The last of the programs closed in June, 1946, and by then the volume of printed matter arriving from men in the service had considerably diminished. Writing the "comprehensive history" then became the principal occupation of the historian. Seven chapters have been completed, and two of them, the first written by Mr. Peckham, have been published in the *Michigan Alumnus Quarterly Review*.

Local History and the School

THOSE GOOD OLD DAYS

Gerald L. Poor

FOR THOSE WHOSE PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY is that what everyone does is of importance and that history is made by all the people in all sorts of activities, the details of the life of the people are important. There is concern over the fact that these details are highly perishable and that much will be lost as one generation is replaced by another unless an effort is made to record local history.

One attempt to preserve the memory of the past on a local scale was made by two extension classes operated by Central Michigan College, one in Bay City and the other in Ithaca. Conditions in the early schools of north and central Michigan were investigated by members of these classes who interviewed various people in their communities. The people interviewed had seen at first-hand early education in Michigan. Their recollections were written down by the Central Michigan College students. Though there may be variations in the exactness of their memories, the total picture thus obtained is instructive. A wide contrast is revealed between the methods, materials, and physical conditions of the schools of a generation or two ago and those of the present. The accounts vary in literary value and all presented here have been somewhat edited.

The lasting impression made by a strong teacher personality is clearly revealed by the following account; the psychology of fear which was frequently employed and the constant conflict which existed between teacher and pupils are clearly revealed.

The years have failed to fade the picture that one teacher chiseled in my memory.

As grim as her inevitable black skirt and shirtwaist, as thin and shapeless as bamboo, as unbending as a rock, Mary was zero in pulchritude. But she was the school board's ace. Wherever there were troubles, Mary landed and wherever Mary landed, the situation was soon well in hand. Our school was tough enough for Mary to move in permanently.

Mary rode the three R's with spurs. Her tactics were simple. She fought it out with the students, individually and collectively, and loved it.

Her appearance and habits kept us alert. She had high cheekbones, a long nose, compressed lips, a lean jaw, sharp ears, the face of a human wolfhound under a knot of skimpy black hair as tightly drawn as the tied top of a grain sack. She was as quick as a cat, as suspicious as a vixen. Her piercing blue eyes penetrated the darkest schoolroom corner and the guiltiest schoolboy conscience.

On one occasion after a short absence from the room, Mary returned to her desk, apparently unaware of suppressed giggles. But as she walked she flashed lightning-swift glances around the room. Suddenly she strode over to one of the largest boys in the room. "All right, Lonnie," she said, "We'll see what's in the closet. Lonnie, you'll open the door for me." Lonnie looked into the cold blue eyes, then at the heavy ruler she was waving suggestively, and moved reluctantly toward the closet which held the school supplies. He reached for the handle of the partly open door, and began to push slowly, cautiously standing well back. Suddenly Mary gave him a hard shove. The pail of water he had balanced on top of the door landed on his shoulders, drenching him. "That," said Mary with a grim smile, "has been tried before." Then she stepped in front of her desk and looked us over. She said slowly, "Where did you gigglers think my eyes were? All I had to do was to observe. You all may stay after school and observe Lonnie's joke, because he will clean the closet.

The success of the feminine touch, though a different sort of feminine touch than that employed by the militant Mary of the preceding narrative, is shown in this story of early school days. Applied psychology functioned then as now, it seems.

Near Lakeview in Montcalm County stands a typical one-room, white, frame country school. In its scant four walls today are housed fourteen pupils with their teacher. Even now this is a room with too few facilities and too little floor space for this small group.

About fifty years ago ninety students attended school regularly or part time in this same plain room. The group consisted of several men, twenty-three and twenty-four years of age; children between the ages of six and sixteen; and a group of twenty beginners ranging from four to seven years old, a few of them able to speak only Danish.

A problem to the schoolmaster of even greater concern than the diversity and age of the students was discipline. The children were of parents who were hard-working, rugged pioneers with little respect for law or learning. The boys carried their shotguns to school, hunting on the way. They skinned their kill on the porch, even skunks. At recess and noon they amused themselves by tossing the younger children's hats, and occasionally the schoolmaster's, into the air and shooting at them.

Rigid physical discipline had been attempted. Tall and strong schoolmasters had been hired, only to leave at the year's end, a failure—if they weren't thrown bodily out before.

Then a sweet and pretty little girl of twenty somehow convinced the school board that she could conquer the group and work successfully with them. When school opened in the fall she greeted this baleful group with a sincere smile and the following statement of her list of rules.

"I've been told that you are all very bad boys and girls, but I don't believe it. You are really not bad. I'm going to like you." She then proceeded with her work.

The group was stunned to see such a calm, neat, and smiling lady for their teacher. Almost at once they seemed to like her pleasing manner of friendliness and understanding.

When the wood arrived in the fall to be piled for winter use, the young schoolmistress asked for volunteers, each to carry in one armful of wood at recess. This was the first attempt to use the muscles of the group. Only one little boy near the front raised his hand. When he heard the others laughing, and saw no other hands up, he quickly drew his down. In her gracious way the teacher made this remark:

"You offered to help me. I think you should carry in your armful. I guess I shall have to do the rest." When school was dismissed for recess, every armful was willingly carried in.

This teacher's way was not always smooth or pleasant, but she stayed in that school for eight years. Today she is still praised by older local residents for having given them "their most enjoyable school years."

An interesting bit of Americana is brought to light in the following account of a once annual event. The perishable nature of these small facets of history is well illustrated here.

At the small country school of Sethton in New Haven Township, Gratiot County, an annual school event in the spring many years ago was the coming of the Chippewa Indian caravan.

For days after the snow left, the boys and girls watched the north road for the Chippewa, with their Indian ponies loaded with handmade baskets of all types to sell to whomever would buy them. Men, women, and children came on the ponies, and stopped at the school to visit with the children and the schoolmaster, and sell them some of their baskets.

The Indians' ponies were much wanted by the children and their parents for the children to ride to and from school, but there is no record of a sale.

Boys will be boys, they say, and human nature and the behavior of mice vary but little from generation to generation. The combination of boys, mice, and schoolrooms can have interesting results, as is shown by this anecdote.

My early school days were spent in a little country school located in Antrim County. Antrim County at that time was quite a wilderness, with bears, wolves, and all the rest. Lumbering was the chief means of support.

Well do I remember one particular school year. We were very excited and anxious for school to start. At last we were to have a woman teacher. After so many years with men as teachers, the change was almost a revolution.

We liked her well; but boys will be boys and I was no exception. Our teacher's favorite punishment when we were naughty was to make us sit with a girl or vise versa. Personally I loved it, as our teacher soon discovered, so my punishment was changed, and I had to sit in the cubbyhole under her desk. It seems I was there nearly every day, no matter how hard I tried to be good.

I decided that perhaps a little strategy on my part might change things a bit. One day I came equipped with a mouse and a string securely tied to one leg. It wasn't long before I was in my usual haunt, mouse and all. Carefully I fastened the string to the desk. After a time the teacher decided I could take my seat. As she walked back to her desk, she let out a couple of shrieks that would curdle your blood. The mouse pulled loose from the string, and before he could be located the room was a madhouse. Again I realized I had bitten off more than I could chew. I was thoroughly paddled and given a permanent seat behind the globe box.

Health officials are certain not to approve of conditions as described in the following narrative of a school near Pompeii in Gratiot County.

Our school was a log building set out in the woods. Along the sides were the backless benches on which the children sat to study their lessons. No paper was used. We all used slates.

I usually went to school at about 8:00 o'clock in the morning. My first duty was to take an old oaken bucket and saunter down to the old water pool where I filled it to the top. I carefully carried it back, strained it to remove polliwogs and other objects, then put in it a dipper from which all the children drank.

Across the back of the room was a line on which each child chained his dog. Wild animals were abundant and each child brought his hound for protection. The dogs were peaceful enough except when a hunter passed through. The baying of the hunter's hound caused all the dogs at school to answer. So school work had to cease until the hunter had proceeded on his way.

More details about conditions in Gratiot County are found in the following description of methods, equipment, community relations, and promotions:

Going to a country school in the 1880's was a real task. The schoolhouse in the winter time was cold in spite of the fact that it was heated by a large wood-burning heater. One teacher, a little tired of having the children ask for permission to warm themselves by the fire during school hours, built a roaring fire and then forced some of the children to stand so close to the stove they blistered their faces. Needless to say he nearly lost his job.

You entered the school by two doors, one for the girls and one for the boys. Seats were double, they did not face the door and whenever a horse and buggy went by, everyone turned around to look.

Discipline was strict; no whispering to the person back of you and, of course, no moving about the room without permission.

The morning and afternoon sessions usually were begun with a song. The songbook was Pattengill's *Knapsack*. You began your school career learning to read, write, and "do numbers." You learned your letters and then started your first reader, which you completed thoroughly before you entered the next reader. You did not pass from one "grade" to the next, but from one "reader" to the next higher reader. Your advancement depended on the reader you were using. Spelling was done orally and every Friday a general "spelldown" was held. "Spelling Schools" were held at night and whoever wanted to, could go and take part.

Sometimes a teacher would spend weeks getting ready for an "Entertainment." At these entertainments all who attended would sing and march, putting on drills with the music furnished by someone who could play a mouth organ. There would also be debates.

The winter sessions were attended by the big boys. Sometimes there would be trouble. On one such occasion a boy threw a stone which hit another boy in the forehead, cutting him severely. The rest of the day the stone thrower wore a placard with "I throw stones" written on it.

When the little children desired colors they didn't go to the store and buy crayons, but they went to the fields and gathered soft stones or lumps of red, red-brown, or yellow clay. Their writing paper came from big sheets of wrapping paper which they cut into squares. Usually they wrote on slates. On these slates, when they had completed their work, they played a game called "Tit tat, toe, here I go." They would play this game by drawing a circle and placing numbers around it. Then, one player would close his eyes and say the rhyme, letting his slate pencil touch one of the numbers, hoping it would be a large number. Seatmates played this game and whoever had the biggest sum after adding up the numbers won.

Every four weeks each grade, except the first and second, wrote examinations in every subject. This took two days. The examination was over the work the students had completed in the four weeks.

The first eighth grade county examination given in Gratiot County was held in 1893.

The last anecdote deals with early school days in Bay City and indicates but little difference between conditions in rural areas and those found in towns.

Shivering from the cold in the morning or roasting from the heat in the late forenoon was not uncommon for a schoolgirl in the 1870's. The seats, crude benches with no backs, ran the width of the room. The students' books were kept on the floor under their seats—for there were no desks. The heating apparatus, a huge iron stove, stood in the corner in the back

of the room. Nearby, neatly stacked, was a pile of cordwood with which the older boys would replenish the fire.

Anne was a tiny girl, never weighing over ninety-five pounds, but what she lacked in weight was made up in vitality. To sit on one of those boards all day without moving a muscle proved her undoing, and many times she felt the smart of a ruler upon her knuckles. Sometimes her restlessness caused her to be seated on the boys' side. This was thought to be degrading, and most girls would have wilted at the thought. Anne, however, was far from crestfallen at this proposition. It was much more exciting on that side, as she loved to erase the boys' arithmetic problems off their slates when the opportunity presented itself. Several times for this act she felt the stinging blows of the switch.

The school, one of the few in Bay City, was located on Ninth and Adams streets—the upstairs of an occupied house. Anne later attended the Union School. Once a month at least the superintendent would visit the schools. Discipline was thought more important than the amount and quality of the subject matter taught. Paper was little used. In fact, even in the high schools, slates were used except for final examinations, then the students would buy foolscap paper. In the ninth grade, Anne's curriculum was enlarged from the three R's to take in physiology and geography.

Most prominent in her reminiscences was the chalk line. When class was called the students would march up, plant their feet just behind the horizontal chalk line which ran across the front of the room and on each side of the vertical ones which would dissect the horizontal one every few feet. There they were to stand at attention until class was dismissed.

Can you imagine yourself sitting erect, motionless, on a backless bench for a whole day? How would you like to march up and place your feet on each side of a vertical chalk line—careful not to let your toes go over the horizontal one as that would mean the ruler—and stand at attention for the full class period? Such was school life in the good old days.

Certainly the expression, "in the good old days" needs to be questioned in the light of the interviews collected by the members of the two Central Michigan College extension classes.

Michigan Folklore

THERE IS A CLOSE RELATION BETWEEN HISTORY AND FOLKLORE, especially in the realm of local history, where folk myths and verifiable facts frequently merge.¹ There is a gradation from ascertainable events through oral traditions to folk history. There seems to be an inner need in American communities which gives rise to the creation and elaboration of a folk history for that community. Frequently the writer has listened to a tale of local "history" told him in all sincerity as fact which has no basis in a historical record. Many of these tales, it is true, spring from an actuality; they relate to a lumber baron, a powerful lumberjack, a desperado, the visit of a celebrated national hero, the founding of a town, the physical exploits of a pioneer. Oftentimes there is a will to believe these "historical" elaborations which no amount of evidence to the contrary can destroy.

Some historians have regarded folklore as an alien discipline—as one beneath their notice. In the opinion of the writer it is fortunate that attitude has changed and is changing. As for the folklorists, some of them have appeared to the writer to be like squirrels, busily "collecting" and then forgetting what and why they have collected. Large collections of songs, ballads, proverbs, cures, and charms have been gathered without one hint being given of their meaning. As Philip D. Jordan has pointed out in "Toward a New Folklore,"² the folklorist has failed to analyze and synthesize his materials.

That this charge is not necessarily correct is evidenced by Richard M. Dorson's article on "Folk Traditions of the Upper Peninsula," printed in *Michigan History* for March (ante, 31:48-65). Michigan is rich in folklore material. The range of collecting is varied, extending as it does from urban Detroit to sparsely settled agricultural, mining, and timbered areas; and from the lumbering to the highly industrialized period.

¹See Richard M. Dorson, "Historical Method and American Folklore," in the *Indiana History Bulletin*, 23:84-99 (January, 1946); Stith Thompson, "Folklore and Minnesota History," in *Minnesota History*, 26:97-105 (June 1945).

²*Minnesota History*, 27:273-80 (December, 1946). See ante, 31:123.

In establishing the section, "Michigan Folklore," the editor of Michigan History hopes to show in a concrete way the good wishes of the Michigan Historical Commission for students of Michigan folklore. The section will give space to news about folklore events, comments by folklorists about their activities, and short articles on folklore. Long contributions will be treated as articles and will be printed independently of the section. "Michigan Folklore" will appear whenever there is material of interest available for the section. The editor will be advised as to what should appear by a committee appointed by the Michigan Folklore Society. The notes which follow were prepared by Dr. Richard M. Dorson, Michigan State College, chairman of the committee.

Ed.

THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MICHIGAN FOLKLORE SOCIETY for 1947 was held on March 21 in the Rackham Building of the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor. The society meets as a folklore section of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts and Letters. About fifty persons were in attendance throughout the day. Mr. Ferdinand Galante, president of the society, opened the session and introduced the various speakers. A diversified program testified to the range of folklore materials and uses in Michigan.

Mr. Stuart A. Gallacher of Michigan State College read the first paper on "Franklin's Way to Wealth: A Florilegium of Proverbs and Wise Sayings." An authority on proverbial history, Mr. Gallacher presented evidence to show that Franklin's familiar collection of aphorisms includes traditional proverbs which he adapted, original expressions which he devised and which subsequently passed into folk usage, and wise sayings that never clicked with the folk.

Speaking in his usual informal and entertaining manner, Dr. E. C. Beck of Central Michigan College of Education at Mt. Pleasant, the immediate past president of the society, talked on "Weary Willie Ballads." Saying that hobo lore was still collectible in "jungles" from Saginaw to Kansas City, Dr. Beck sang and recited ballads and verses of the 'boes, and sandwiched in anecdotes of his collecting experiences. One time he learned to his surprise that the ragged 'bo cooking mulligan stew was a Harvard graduate who had studied economics at Harvard under Taussig.

A paper with a formidable title proved to be a highly lucid and original analysis of Indian lore. This was "The Black Bear and the White Tail Deer as Potent Factors in the Folklore of the Menomini Indians," by Miss Martha Curtis of Michigan State Normal College at Ypsilanti, which demonstrated with considerable illustration possible uses of folklore myths and tales for the student of Indian material culture. As her chief example Miss Curtis pointed out the superior mythological position of the bear over the deer, a relationship borne out by the more familiar and commonplace position of the deer—"which has more uses than Armour's cow"—in Indian life. Indian folklore can be used to secure data on nearly extinct animals, on past customs, on aboriginal pre-history.

"Folk instruments in Michigan Communities," the concluding topic in the morning session, was presented by Miss Florence G. Cassidy, secretary of the nationality department, council of Social Agencies of Metropolitan Detroit, and reflects the growing interest of welfare agencies in using folklore as an instrument for cultural understanding. Miss Cassidy stated that her quest for unusual musical instruments had the practical value of acquainting her with entertainers for programs. Her searches uncovered a variety of European musical instruments used to accompany folksongs or to provide music for folk dances: the Syrian *ud*, the Armenian *tar*, the Bulgarian *gadulka*, the Serbian *berda*, the Italian *zampogna*, the Finnish *kantele*. Miss Cassidy told of a Detroit Bulgar who, lacking a *gadulka*, tucked a violin between his knees and plucked at the strings to achieve a comparable effect.

After the luncheon, Mr. Ivan Walton of the University of Michigan led a discussion on the question of avenues for publication of Michigan folklore. He introduced Dr. Lewis Beeson, secretary of the Michigan Historical Commission, who generously offered to open the pages of *Michigan History* to general folklore articles and to a folklore section where collectanea and news items might be printed. (This section is initiated in the present issue.) An eminent visitor to the meeting, Mr. Robert E. Gard of the University of Wisconsin, author of *Johnny Chinook: Tall Tales and True from the Canadian Northwest* and past holder of a Rockefeller Foundation fellowship to promote a folklore project at the University of Alberta, Canada, next spoke on Wisconsin folklore activities, and the desirability of establishing an area journal at some future time.

Upholding the participative aspect of folklore, Miss Grace Ryan from Central Michigan College of Education spoke on her program for perpetuating European folk dances in her classes at Mt. Pleasant, and the opportunity this afforded for rewarding recreational work. Two students then demonstrated the couple dance, the heel and toe polka, the rye waltz, the varsoviana, and other folk dances which show American influence in their gayety and hilarity. Miss Ryan then called on the audience to follow her instructions, and taught a number of volunteers two simple folk dances.

Resuming the presentation of papers, Mrs. Norman Johnson of Flint, the former Aili Kolehmainen, whose translation of the *Kalevala* is now in press at the Finnish Lutheran Book Concern in Hancock, read a superb report on "The Folklore and Folkways of a Co-operative Finnish Community, Rock, Michigan." Mrs. Johnson traced the social and religious background of the Finnish protest songs—including eight Joe Hill folk songs—she had recently collected in Rock, and indicated their importance as survivals from a period that has now receded, and in revealing links with native American labor lore.

The concluding paper, "Occult Beliefs of the Upper Peninsula," read by Dr. Richard M. Dorson, dealt chiefly with the phenomenon of bloodstopping by secret prayer and inherited power, as it is commonly known and practiced by various ethnic groups in northern Michigan. Several members of the audience contributed parallel cases from their own knowledge.

The society elected the following officers to serve for the coming year: President, Mr. Richard M. Dorson; Vice-President, Miss Alice Nichols; Secretary, Mrs. Norman Johnson; Treasurer, Miss Grace L. Engel.

Members of the Michigan Folklore Society have recently received the following appointments: Miss Thelma James as associate editor of the *Journal of American Folklore*; Mr. Ivan H. Walton as regional editor of *Hoosier Folklore*; Mr. Richard M. Dorson as council member of the American Folklore Society and book review editor of the *Southern Folklore Quarterly*.

Dr. E. C. Beck's forthcoming volume, *Lore of the Lumber Woods*, is now in press at the University of Michigan Press.

Some half dozen members of the Society were present at part or all of the Folklore Institute of America conducted so successfully from June 19 to August 16, 1946, at Indiana University under the directorship of Mr. Stith Thompson.

Miss Gladys Blakely of the Hoyt Public Library at Saginaw, who has for some years been compiling a bibliography of Michigan folklore, solicits entries and suggestions for possible inclusion. Miss Blakely is interpreting "Folklore" in the widest possible sense, to include all materials bearing on social custom and tradition.

The International Institute and the Flint Institute of Arts jointly sponsored a talk on Finnish folklore by Mrs. Norman Johnson the evening of April 16 at the Art Institute in Flint. Mrs. Johnson's subject was "The Kalevala—Folklore of Democracy."

Please send all items of Michigan folklore and news about Michigan folklore activities for publication in the folklore section of *Michigan History* to Richard M. Dorson, Department of History, Michigan State College, East Lansing.

RICHARD M. DORSON.

Michigan News

THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY of Michigan and a meeting of the Michigan Historical Commission will be held at Holland October 10-12. The one hundredth anniversary of the settlement of the Dutch in western Michigan will highlight the program, which will feature papers and talks by distinguished guests, the annual dinner of the society, and the dedication by Governor Sigler of a marker to the pioneers. Members of the society and all others interested in Michigan and its history are invited to attend the two day meeting. Plan now to be at Holland October 10-11.

MEMBERS OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MICHIGAN have received an attractive folder reproducing the original plat of the town of Michigan, the early name for Lansing. Reproduced from a copy of the original map owned by Mr. Chester W. Ellison, vice-president of the Michigan Historical Commission, the folder was distributed during Lansing's observance of its centennial as the capital of Michigan by Beurmann-Marshall Inc., the printers and lithographers who produced it. A limited number of the maps are available for new members of the State Historical Society.

ON DECEMBER 31, 1946, THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY of Michigan had 429 members. This was an increase of 23 over 1945. Of these members, seventeen were honorary, three were life, and three were organizational. All except thirty-six were residents of Michigan.

In spite of the increase in members, which has continued since this list was compiled, the membership of the society is pitifully small. The trustees are actively engaged in increasing it. Each trustee has, since the first of the year, spent time and effort in obtaining new members. The results of their work in increasing the membership of the society will be reported in a succeeding issue of *Michigan History*. In addition to the trustees, two members of the society have been especially active in obtaining new members. These are Mr. Ralph W. Stroebel of Saginaw and Mr. Albert F. Butler of Grand Rapids.

Other members are urged to solicit new members. Invite your friends and acquaintances to join. Suggest a membership to anyone

interested in Michigan and its history. With a little effort the membership in the State Historical Society can be tripled in 1947. At the time this was written, it was over five hundred. Let's make it twelve hundred before the end of 1947.

The following list of members in the society as of December 31, 1946 is organized so as to make it easy for you to ascertain who are members. Many counties have no members in the State Historical Society. Check the list to see who is a member. Send the names of those whom you think should join to the Secretary, State Historical Society of Michigan, Lansing, and a letter, inviting them to join, will be mailed from the secretary's office. Or, write your friends a letter yourself asking them to join. Let each member solicit five other persons. Support your State Historical Society in this way so that it will be able to attain the membership justified by its program.

MICHIGAN MEMBERS

ALLEGAN

Allegan

Godlewski, Walter J.

ALPENA

Alpena

Wilkins, Arthur B.

BARAGA

L'Anse

Jentoft, Lloyd A.

BAY

Bay City

Allen, George X.

Bay County Historical Society (O)

Buck, Mrs. Homer E.

Davidson, James E.

Defoe, Harry J.

Smith, Harry

BERRIEN

Buchanan

Mitchell, Bert

Benton Harbor

Banyon, Walter E. (H)

Beebe, Mrs. Clyde

Bower, Ernest A.

Franz, Harvey

Lord, Austin R.

Coloma

Strong, Mrs. Harvey

Eau Claire

Green, Amos R.

St. Joseph

Hayne, Coe

Three Oaks

VanGenderen, Lena

Watervliet

Kiefer, Mrs. Ruby

CALHOUN

Albion

Seaton, John L. (H)

Weeks, Harold B.

Wilkinson, Ralph

Battle Creek

Arnett, Thomas F.

Selmon, Dr. Bertha Loveland

Fort Custer

Francisco, A. H.

Homer

Rossman, Miss Lennagene

Marshall

Brooks, Harold C.

Cargill, Mrs. Frank R.

Gauss, Mrs. C. E.

Redfield, Mrs. James M.

*CASS**Cassopolis*

Berkey, William H.

Dowagiac

Anthony, Mrs. Warren J.

Jones

Drescher, Miles R.

CHARLEVOIX*Beaver Island*

Boyle, Earl

CHIPPEWA*Hulbert*

Taylor, Charles S.

Neebish

Trempe, Miss Minnie

Sault Ste. Marie

Baldwin, George W.

Bayliss, Joseph E.

Brown, Edwin T.

Burke, Chester

LaLonde, William S.

Osborn, Chase S. (L)

Trudgeon, Raymond

Wright, Edna

CRAWFORD*Frederic*

Leng, Ace D.

Grayling

Schreiber, Mrs. Hugo

Wakeley, Mrs. Arthur J.

DELTA*Escanaba*

Coon, David S.

Jensen, Mrs. George

Gladstone

Mathison, D. A.

Rock

Mustonen, Arvid

DICKINSON*Iron Mountain*

Overton, Gertrude H.

EATON*Charlotte*

Smith, J. M. C. (H)

Dimondale

Pray, Mrs. Joseph A.

Grand Ledge

Clarke, W. R.

EMMET*Petoskey*

Reycraft, Donald H.

GENESEE*Clio*

Field, Howard

Fenton

Rabazzana, Mrs. Hector

Flint

Atwood, E. W.

Carlson, Emil L.

Cumings, Charles A.

Hardy, Mrs. A. B. C.

Jewell, Mrs. Floyd E.

Maines, George H.

Shattuck, Scott

GLADWIN*Gladwin*

Holman, Dr. Clinton B.

GOGEBIC*Ironwood*

Cloon, Rudolph F.

Cloon, William G.

Wakefield

Cloon, Joseph P.

HILLSDALE*Reading*

Schermerhorn, Mrs. George D.

HOUGHTON*Hancock*

Gagnon, Earl J.

Houghton

Fisher, James

Rezek, Rev. Antoine I. (H)

Wood, Ella Lucille

Laurium

Mulchahey, Raymond G.

Petermann, Mrs. Phillip

HURON*Bad Axe*

Sleeper, Mrs. Albert E. (H)

INGHAM*Dansville*

Jennings, Daniel D.

East Lansing

Alleman, Gene

Cooper, Herbert G.

Dorson, Richard M.

Duncan, Joseph G.

Fields, Harold B.

Honigsheim, Paul

Kimber, Harry H.

Knappen, Marshall M.

Kuhn, Madison

Morrison, Paul C.

Nye, Russel B.

Scavarda, Mrs. Caesar

Trevarrow, William Mitchell

Lansing

Anderson, Mrs. G. Olds (L)

Andrus, Percy H. (H)

Beeson, Lewis (H)

Bird, John Wendell

Brazel, Mrs. Mildred

Brisbin, Mrs. James D.

Carr, Kenneth L.

Chase, Lew Allen (H)

Cross, Dr. Frank S.

Davis, Mrs. Edith E.

Diamand, Mrs. Marjorie A.

Ellison, Chester W.

Foster, Theodore G.

Fuller, George N. (H)

Haskins, James B.

Johnson, Miss Mary I.

Lewis, Mrs. Guy W.

Mills, Mrs. Lucius D.

Person, Seymour H.

Roberts, C. Laverne

Roe, Clarence S.

Sigler, Mrs. Kim

Snell, Dr. D. M.

Spindler, Lavina

Wheeler, Merton H.

Wigman, Henry W.

Zimmerman, Mrs. Nellie M.

Mason

Calkins, Edmund A.

Hall, Albert J.

St. Johns

Fish, Lawrence

IONIA*Ionia*

Morse, Allen B. (H)

IOSCO*Whittemore*

Sibley, Ida Westervelt

ISABELLA*Augusta*

Minor, Van Lieu

Mt. Pleasant

Fox, Miss Karolena

Maybee, Rolland H.

Stinchcombe, Mrs. Della Leonard

JACKSON*Concord*

Aldrich, Robert D.

Jackson

Benedict, LeRoy L.

Blackman, Orrin

Fargo, William G.

McGowan, Donald
Winchester, Burt

Spring Arbor

Fletcher, Mrs. Gertrude

KALAMAZOO

Kalamazoo

Clark, Mrs. Charles J.
Dunbar, Willis
Earl, Otis A.
Emerson, Ross F.
Fetzer, John E.
Knauss, James O.
Mitchell, Chester S.
Moore, Mrs. Floyd W.
Oakley, Mrs. Kate Russell
Stevens, Edward J. (H)
Thompson, Lawrence S.
Weissert, Charles A. (H)
Yzenbaard, John H.

Richland

Van De Warker, Orah

Schoolcraft

Hanes, Clarence R.

KENT

Alto

Ellett, Stanton E.

Cedar Springs

Douglass, Donald

Grand Rapids

Beets, Rev. Henry
Berg, Hans
Butler, Albert F.
Cowlishaw, George E.
Edwardine, Sister M.
Jennings, Leslie P.
McAllister, Thomas F.
Ranck, Samuel H. (H)
Shields, Mrs. Irene Pomeroy (H)
Shirnel, Vesta M.
Starr, Raymond W.

Stryker, Mildred
Stuart, Charles J.
Vis, Dr. William R.
Whitwam, Frank
Widdicombe, Harry T.
Wilde, Charles K.
Willard, Gardner
Windoes, Ralph F.
Wood, Mrs. Frances

Lowell

Doyle, King

LAPEER

Almont

Hull, Edwin

Lapeer

Cramton, Louis C.

LENAWEE

Adrian

Armstrong, George W.
Cargo, Ruth E.
Mason, Xenia
Perry, Stuart H.

Cement City

Kelley, Mrs. Letha C.

Hudson

Foster, Byron J.
Tripp, Maurice E.

LIVINGSTON

Howell

Beach, William E.

MACKINAC

Mackinac Island

Donnelly, Nellie

MACOMB

Mt. Clemens

Babcock, Thomas A.
Hand, F. Ned
Oehmke, Alvin
Westendorf, Donald R.

St. Clair Shores

Sidey, Harold A.

Van Dyke

Poole, John E.

MANISTEE

Manistee

Despres, George C.

Jones, Thomas B.

Onekama

Chaney, Elsket Barstow

Smith, John J.

Wellston

Dust, Mae

MARQUETTE

Ishpeming

Hulst, Harry T.

Negaunee

Bell, Frank A.

Brotherton, Ray A.

Bush, John M.

MASON

Free Soil

Darr, Mrs. Harry L.

Ludington

Lind, C. Lawrence

MECOSTA

Barryton

Lamos, Mark

Big Rapids

Ashley, Fred

Jenkins, Will F.

Millbrook

Capen, Lewis D.

Paris

Collom, Fred E.

MENOMINEE

Hermansville

Earle, G. Harold

MIDLAND

Midland

Vail, John B.

Woolley, Malcolm E.

MISSAUKEE

Lake City

Barnum, Harry L.

Leemgraven, Gerrit J.

MONROE

Monroe

Knaggs, Mrs. Daniel A.

MONTCALM

Stanton

McNutt, R. D.

MUSKEGON

Muskegon

Swett, Edward R.

OAKLAND

Berkley

Burbey, Louis H.

Birmingham

Gillespie, Arthur H.

Hamil, Fred C.

Van Buren, George H.

Pleasant Ridge

Hetu, Grace C.

Pontiac

Adams, Mrs. Donald E.

Adams, Jayno W.

Dunlap, Mrs. Louis Lee

Going, Mrs. Harry F.

Rochester

Viola, W. N.

Royal Oak

Atesian, Howard

Friggens, Francis G.

Holmquist, Carl E.

Scheer, Mrs. Luke J.

OCEANA

Pentwater

Mears, Carrie E.

OGEMAW

Rose City

Thompson, Howard H.

West Branch

Nauman, Genevieve M.

ONTONAGON

Ontonagon

Jamison, James K.

OTTAWA

Grand Haven

Parks, Paul H.

Holland

Dimnent, Edward D.

Lubbers, Irwin J.

Manting, George

Wichers, Willard C.

Zeeland

Van Kowvering, Adrian

SAGINAW

Frankenmuth

Kirchgeorg, Dr. C.

Saginaw

Boyse, Mrs. Edward

Brennan, Bert C.

Case, Mort H.

Dustin, Fred

Kempton, Dr. Rockwell M.

Mudd, Dr. Richard D.

Murphy, Most Rev. William F.

Saylor, Thomas A.

Schill, William J.

Schuch, John P.

Smith, Mrs. Eugene F.

Stroebel, Ralph W.

White, Earl

ST. CLAIR

Algonac

Collins, Newell E.

ST. JOSEPH

Centerville

Voelker, Paul F. (H)

Sturgis

Nicholson, Elbert

SCHOOLCRAFT

Manistique

Putnam, Mrs. A. S.

SHIAWASSEE

Owosso

Hume, Dr. Arthur M.

VAN BUREN

Decatur

Howe, Otis

Paw Paw

Benton, Carl

WASHTENAW

Ann Arbor

Bald, F. Clever

Beebe, Dr. Hugh M.

Boak, Arthur E. R.

Bonisteel, Roscoe O.

Brown, Robert B.

Coller, Dr. Frederick A.

Dow, Earle W.

Frantz, Peter

Gardner, Octave D.

Norton, Clark F.

Okkelberg, Peter

Rumney, George

Sink, Charles A.

Skarshaug, Mrs. Emory C.

Vander Velde, Lewis G.

Van Vlerah, Vida

Wagner, Herbert P.

Washtenaw Co. Historical Soc. (O)

Ypsilanti

Boyington, Gladys

Chapelle, Ernest H.

Ford, R. Clyde (H)

White, Louis S.

WAYNE

Allen Park

Reynolds, O. Dale

Richards, Darrel J.

Belleville

Robbe, Dr. Samuel H.

Dearborn

Barber, Mrs. Harold A.

Becker, Iris

Belding, George

Dancey, Thomas B.

DeBoos, Mrs. Frank A.

Griffith, Walter

Haight, Floyd

Lapham, Samuel D.

Larsen, Grace

Larson, Robert H.

McDonald, Mrs. Frank D.

Martin, Ellis R.

Maxwell, Floyd

Parr, Kathleen

Vranesh, Mary

Detroit

Aaron, Dr. Charles D.

Armstrong, Henry I., Jr.

Barnard, Ralph W.

Barry, Sara Jane

Bayer, William J.

Bayliss, Clifton M.

Beveridge, Willis C., Jr.

Blaine, Dr. Alexander W.

Blinn, Thomas W.

Bowen, Harold L.

Brace, Cary E.

Brown, Henry D.

Brown, Ruth

Brucker, Wilber M.

Burt, Flora Margaret

Burton, Frank

Butzel, Fred M.

Candler, Henry E.

Clark, William R. (L.)

Cram, Mrs. Esther M.

Cree, Dr. Walter J.

Danaher, James E.

Detroit Historical Society (O)

Dittrich, Francis C.

Downey, William R.

Eckel, Joseph A.

Edwards, Mrs. V. Lee

Evans-Winter-Hebb, Inc.

Foley, Hal A.

Ford, Ida

Gibb, **Harley L.**

Gigante, Dr. Nicola

Glazer, Sidney

Grindley, Joseph

Guy, George

Hamilton, James T.

Hamilton, William E., Jr.

Hawkins, Rev. Clyde B.

Heavenrich, Dr. Sidney F.

Henderson, Dwight C.

Herr, Percival E.

Hetzelt, Mrs. Laurence J.

Hickey, Rev. Edward J.

Hoskins, Chester E.

Hunt, Mrs. John H.

James, Thelma

Jasinski, Lucille E.

Jeffrey, Mrs. James D.

Johnson, Frank

Katz, Irving I.

Krum, Gracie B.

Kunz, Hazen Edwin

Lamb, Mrs. Emmet

Larsen, Mrs. Mary E.

Longley, Clifford B.

Marsh, Florence I.

Martin, Clarence R.

Mason, Robert E.

Miller, John

Moore, Thomas B.

Norris, Joe L.

Palmer, Raymond J.

Quaife, Milo M.

Rosalita, Sister Mary

Ryding, Reuben

Sage, E. J. Parker

Savage, Mrs. Edward James

Schmalzriedt, Fred R.

Seymour, Elizabeth G.

Sidney Canvas Shop

Springer, William

Starr, Thomas I.
 Stewart, Mrs. Albert E.
 Stones, Mrs. Elaine H.
 Stroud, Clifton
 Turner, Douglas B.
 Vivian, Myron
 Wheat, Renville

Garden City

Bergin, Robert F.

Grosse Ile

Langfield, Arthur
 Wixson, Willard W.

Grosse Pointe Farms

Joy, Mrs. Henry B.
 Parker, Edward C.
 Remick, Mrs. Jerome H.

Grosse Pointe Park

Forrester, Mrs. LeRoy W.

Grosse Pointe Shores

Cudlip, William B.

Highland Park

McLaughlin, Emery
 White, Paige

Plymouth

DeLaVergne, Earl W.
 Devine, Edward L.
 Georgiana, Sister Mary

River Rouge

Rosa, Harvey M.

Wyandotte

Perry, David N.

WEXFORD

Cadillac

Hirzel, Fred C.

NON-RESIDENT MEMBERS

CALIFORNIA

Belisle, Mrs. Edith, *Compton*
 Clarke, Mrs. Basil, *Los Angeles (H)*

Loveridge, Mrs. Jessie Moore, *Oakland*
 Poole, Grace H., *Pasadena*
 Woodson, Fred C., *Beverly Hills*

FLORIDA

Hulbert, Richard C., *Pensacola*

GEORGIA

Osborn, Stellanova, *Poulon*

ILLINOIS

Campbell, Fred G., *Chicago*
 McDonald, E. J., Jr., *Chicago*
 Smith, Henry P. S., *Edwardsville*
 Spooner, Harry L., *Peoria*
 Taylor, J. Hall, *Oak Park*
 Woodfill, W. S., *Chicago*

INDIANA

Anderson, E. V., *Elkhart*
 Carter, Mrs. William F., *Indianapolis*
 Post, Charles F., *South Bend*
 Schumm, Lorenz G., *LaPorte*

IOWA

Hartzler, J. D., *Wellman*

MINNESOTA

Hearding, J. H., *Duluth*
 Jordan, Philip D., *Minneapolis*
 Meehan, J. M., *Minneapolis*
 Springer, George T., *Minneapolis*

NEW JERSEY

Broek, Rev. John Y., *Plainfield*
 Cook, John Hutchinson, *Trenton*
 Greenly, Albert H., *Hoboken*

NEW YORK

Caldwell, Edward, *New York*
 Four Continent Book Corp., *New York*
 Maitland, John M., *Scotia*
 Starring, Charles R., *New York*

OHIO

Williams, Mrs. A. D., *Newton Falls*

PENNSYLVANIA

Deardorff, Merle H., *Warren*
 Norton, Alton A., *Swarthmore*

WASHINGTON

Hulbert, Mary, *Seattle*

WISCONSIN

Miller, Willis H., *Hudson*

CANADA

McDonald, George F., *Windsor*Morrison, Neil F., *Windsor*

A STONE ENCLOSURE ABOUT THREE HUNDRED FEET INLAND from the beach at Morris Bay on Lake Huron about seven miles north of Alpena is reported upon by Mr. Gerald Haltiner in the October, 1946 issue of the *Totem Pole* and by Mr. Newell E. Collins in a letter to the editor of *Michigan History*. Hitherto undescribed, the ancient work consists of walls composed of boulders carried from the beach. The walls average two feet in height and three feet in thickness and form a rude rectangle about thirty-five by eighty feet in extent. The work "is unlike anything known to exist in Michigan," according to Mr. Haltiner. It is of Indian origin in Mr. Collins' opinion, who states that "obviously the place should be preserved." In order to preserve the site, Mr. Collins has advanced money for its purchase with the expectation of offering parcels of the water frontage to members of the Aboriginal Research Club and their friends, reserving the site proper for the Aboriginal Research Club.

THE MUSEUM OF THE BAY COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY occupies several rooms on the second floor of the county building in Bay City.¹ It is open to visitors in the afternoon from two to five Monday through Friday. In the museum are many objects illustrative of the history of Bay County.

The museum possesses objects reflecting the water front life of the community, hence an old dugout, blackened by age and the elements, which was dredged from the mouth of the Saginaw River, makes an appropriate introduction to the exhibits. A large copper steam whistle, taken from the *Witch of the West* when the vessel was dismantled in 1904, represents the evolution of river transportation from the days of the dugout.

The tools used in lumbering days are numerous. There are grab-hooks, cant hooks, pikes, pike and cant poles, froes, wedges, various

¹This account of the Bay County Historical Society is based upon a description of the museum written by Mrs. William F. Plumsteel. The editor, however, is responsible for all statements of fact or opinion which appear in it.

types of rafting pins, and branding irons used to mark logs. Many of these implements are handmade.

Agricultural implements on display include a *potogan* used by the Indians to grind their corn and wild rice, oxshoes, ox yokes, and a wooden hay fork.

A doll buggy purchased in 1871 is on display, its reed body and wheels still in good condition; several baby buggies and a baby jumper are exhibited. There is a baby grand piano which belonged to the Fraser House. Numerous household articles are to be seen. There are several spinning wheels of different types. Ancient boots, wooden bootjacks, foot warmers, and bed warmers are shown. A massive copper kettle, handmade by riveting together three sections of the metal, occupies a prominent place. A case of hand-spun, hand-woven, and handmade pieces of linen is of interest to the homemaker. The aesthetic taste of an earlier age is reflected through wreaths of flowers made of hair and seeds and pods. In a recessed cupboard, dishes, some of which are one hundred and fifty years old, are exhibited.

The museum has excellent material on illumination. There are candlesticks, lard and kerosene lamps, candle molds and snuffers, candle-wick trimmers, sulphur matches, and a collection of electric bulbs ranging from one of one thousand watts to one the size of a grain of wheat.

Military history is illustrated by a collection of powder flasks and horns, military belts and buckles, guns, bayonets, swords, and Indian hatchets and war clubs.

The museum has manuscript records relating to Bay County, including letters and legal papers, a collection of books, and numerous pictures. Much of this material is stored, but in the center of the main exhibit room is a case of pictures of local residents, schools, lumber camps, and business establishments. There is a vivid, colorful view of one of Bay City's lumberyards intensely burning in the night.

Although no local historical museum probably can escape accepting "association" items, such as the cornerstone of the old Bay County building erected in 1868 on exhibit in the Bay County Historical Society museum, the museum has not become overloaded with this type of material. One can justify the museum's display of part of a mastodon tusk which was plowed up on a farm in Tuscola County,

for, in the minds of the donor and many of the visitors to the museum, such an object is a part of the "history" of the region.

If the trained historian scoffs at this view of history, he must think of the realities of the matter. Where else, in the absence of science museums, and in view of the interest in such an object by members of the community, could it be assured of permanent preservation? The historical museum in a community the size of Bay City often is the only cultural institution capable of preserving objects of interest and value to the residents. It is fortunate for the specialist in history that history is so generalized it can include within its scope, in the thinking of the ordinary citizen, material which he would scorn to recognize as historical. In this uncritical attitude there is evidence of a deep-seated belief in the value of history, and an assurance to the professional that he can carry on his studies undisturbed by a questioning of the ultimate bases upon which his discipline is founded.

Less easily justifiable as exhibit material for a local historical museum is material having no relation to the locality, except, perhaps, that it was collected by a resident. The museum of the Bay County Historical Society has some material of this sort. It has on display two Philippine hats, two boards from Mexican missions on which pictures of saints are burnt and painted, and a basket fashioned from an armadillo shell. Although this type of material has no place in a local Michigan historical museum, what is the local museum to do? Where can it send the prospective donor? It cannot well refuse a proffered gift. Unlike the larger institution, it must cater to the wishes of its clientele and necessarily has to reflect the level of community taste and discernment. The local historical museum is extremely close to the people. It reflects their standards. It is an extremely specialized museum, inasmuch as it deals with local history, yet it is also a most generalized one, for it includes within its scope much material that a specialist would call irrelevant, and that a larger museum less dependent upon and less in touch with the community, would reject.

The officers of the Bay County Historical Society and the curator of its museum are cognizant of the factors just discussed. All in all, the museum of the society is one in which the community can take pride. The rooms are not yet too cluttered with material. Although there is no systematic arrangement within a room, some arrangement

appears within the individual cases. Within the limitations of space and opportunity, the material is well displayed. Much care and thought have been spent upon the exhibits by the curator, Mrs. William F. Plumsteel, and by the officers of the society. They are to be congratulated upon having established their museum upon solid foundations, and having provided the community with historical resources which will increase in value as time goes on.

PROBABLY NO OTHER HISTORICAL SOCIETY IN THE UNITED STATES is growing faster than the Detroit Historical Society. The growth of the society is occurring not only in membership, which has passed the seventeen hundred mark, but is taking place in a vitalized program of collecting, museum displays, lectures, committee activity, publicity, and publication. The *Bulletin of the Detroit Historical Society*, now in its third year, presents in an attractive format, news of the society's activities, new exhibits, recent accessions, a report from the director, and usually an article on some phase of Detroit history. The focus of the society's plans for the future is a new museum building. Contributing to the success of the society's program are its committees, of which there are twenty-five actively engaged in furthering some phase of its work.

In a "Salute to the Past," which also took a glance at the future, the society, on January 18, 1947, celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary. Forty-five of the 119 persons who joined the Detroit Historical Society in its first year are still members of the society.

Of importance in attracting fresh interest in the society are a series of teas and a series of lectures held through the winter season. The third tea, held at the museum, took place March 31. Dr. Harlan Hatcher, dean of the college of arts and sciences at Ohio State University, delivered the first lecture December 12, 1946. Dr. Hatcher spoke on the "Rediscovery of the Great Lakes." The second lecture February 24, 1947, on Douglass Houghton, "The Little Doctor," was by George W. Stark.

A dinner meeting of the society February 19 heard Dr. Lewis Beeson, secretary of the Michigan Historical Commission and the State Historical Society of Michigan, speak on "Co-operation between Local Historical Societies." In attendance were representatives of the Society of Mayflower Descendants, Colonial Dames of America,

Daughters of Colonial Wars, Huguenot Society, Sons of the American Revolution, Society of the War of 1812, Daughters of the American Revolution, Dames of the Loyal Legion, Daughters of Founders and Patriots of America, Military Order of the Loyal Legion, Daughters of the Confederacy, Society for Genealogical Research, Historical Memorials Society, Aboriginal Research Club, Marine Historical Society, Algonquin Club, Burton Historical Collection, and International Institute. As a result of the discussion at the dinner meeting among the representatives of local historical, patriotic, and genealogical groups of mutually beneficial projects, a plan to publish annually papers of general significance presented before the various organizations is being considered. The suggestion has also been made that the conference of local historical groups as instituted in 1940 by the Detroit Council on Local History be revived.

OVER TWO THOUSAND PEOPLE ATTENDED THE FIRST EVENT, February 9, 1947, marking the centennial of the arrival of the first Dutch settlers at Holland. The day was devoted to commemorative services on the Hope College campus with the Rev. Edward Romig, pastor of West End Collegiate Church, New York, delivering the principal address. A special greeting was received in a recorded message from the Netherlands Minister of Foreign Affairs, Baron Boetselear van Oosterhout. On March 9, a commemorative service in the Dutch language, with the Rev. Bastian Kruithof presiding, was given. The Zeeland First Reformed Church held special centennial services March 28.

Special church services, a play, and meetings are to be held April 27-May 4. On May 14-15 the Particular Synod of Chicago of the Reformed Church of America will meet in the First Reformed Church of Holland. At Tulip Time, May 14-17, the centennial theme will be stressed, with May 16 specially designated as centennial day. The General Synod of the Reformed Church of America will convene at Holland June 5-10. A week later, June 17-19 Zeeland will observe its own centennial with a civic celebration. Holland's celebration of the city's founding will take place August 14-16.

An important part of the centennial commemorating the Dutch migration of 1847 are essay contests for high school seniors, and for college and university students, on the subject, "The Influence of

Dutch Settlement on American Civilization," sponsored by the Centennial Commission of Holland. First, second, and third prizes in each of the contests are a trip to the Netherlands of about six weeks with all expenses paid.

LANSING CELEBRATED THE CENTENNIAL OF ITS DESIGNATION as the capitol of Michigan with a week-long observance March 16-22, 1947. The centennial opened March 16 with special observances of the occasion by the churches of the city. On March 17, Governor Kim Sigler spoke at a luncheon sponsored by the Exchange and Lions clubs. Throughout the week the meetings of other luncheon clubs were devoted to an observance of the centennial.

A merchants' breakfast March 18 inaugurated that day's program. Clerks who attended came dressed in costumes of an earlier period, which they wore throughout the day. At a joint convention of the legislature that afternoon, colors of the Michigan State Troops were presented by Colonel Harry E. Loomis, quartermaster general of Michigan, to the Michigan Historical Commission for preservation. Mrs. Donald E. Adams, president of the commission, made the speech of acceptance. Governor Kim Sigler gave the principal address before the joint convention.

At an evening meeting March 18, presided over by Mr. Paul Martin, more than sixty people formed the temporary organization for a Lansing historical society. Mr. Claude E. Cady was elected temporary chairman and Mr. Leonard H. Braun temporary secretary of the new historical organization. Two committees were named by the group; one on constitution and by-laws, with Mr. Cady as chairman, and one on membership, with Mr. Paul Bates as chairman. Participating in the discussion on organization was Mr. Henry Brown, assistant director of the Detroit Historical Society, who told the group of the experiences of the Detroit society, and Mr. Chester W. Ellison, a member of the Michigan Historical Commission.

An outstanding event of the centennial was the "Memories in Michigan" show, at which lantern slides of early Lansing scenes, early motion pictures, square dances, and songs of the nineties were presented. Assembled by Mr. L. F. Carlson, public relations executive of the Oldsmobile division of General Motors, the show, lasting two and one-half hours, was given the evenings of March 19 and 20. An

address on the topic, "Michigan Today and Tomorrow" was given the first evening by Governor Kim Sigler, and on the second evening by Mr. C. W. Otto, secretary-manager of the Lansing Chamber of Commerce.

Other events of the centennial were a costume ball given March 21, a centennial ball for teen-agers March 22, a beard growing contest, and the selection of a centennial queen. The windows of most Lansing merchants were filled with displays illustrating Lansing's past.

MEMBERS OF THE MARINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF DETROIT heard Mr. E. R. Little describe "The Building of the Soo Locks, 1913" at their January 2, 1947 meeting. The Rev. Edward J. Dowling, S. J., addressed the society January 29 on "The Dustless Road to Happyland—The Story of the Graham-Morton Line." On February 26 Captain John Hale gave an address "Mostly Tug Boats."

THE EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING of the Monroe County Historical Society March 18, 1947, continued the excellent plan of honoring a special group each year. In 1946 the annual meeting paid tribute to the pioneer and present physicians of the county. Honored by the society at its 1947 meeting were the merchants and firms of Monroe who have been in business for fifty years or more, or for three generations.

Three firms headed the list with a century or more of business activity. Sixteen had been in existence for three or four generations. In connection with the annual meeting of the society, displays were arranged in stores showing merchandise dating back eighty years or more. In its March 15 issue, the *Monroe Evening News* devoted space to an account of the city's early stores, crafts, and industries. A full page in the March 18 issue told the mercantile history of the city in picture and story. The accounts in the two issues of the *News* were reprinted and distributed by the editorial and mechanical departments of the paper as a souvenir of the annual meeting. Advertisements from the *Monroe Sentinel* from 1827 to 1896 also were published in mimeographed form.

Work on the program for the annual meeting, particularly the securing of data on the retail business firms of the city and county, extended throughout the year. The program committee had the active co-operation of the Monroe Business Men's Association. The prin-

cial address of the meeting was delivered by Dr. S. E. Fagerstrom, head of the department of history at Michigan Normal College, on "Michigan's Part in the Creation of the Republican Party."

The recently established *Monroe Sentinel*, the mimeographed bulletin issued by the Monroe County Historical Society, named in honor of the *Monroe Sentinel* founded in 1825, in its second number, March, 1947, prints an account by Edwin A. Vetter of the Monroe Exchange Club Band, which was established in 1860 by Johann N. Vetter as Vetter's Union Brass Band.

Many classes from both city and rural districts have visited the society's museum to view the definitely organized exhibits and hear explanations of their meaning. Since the society has a collection of over two hundred jugs, jars, and earthenware bottles, its members listened with interest to the second lecture of the year, a discussion of jugs and their makers by Mr. Karl C. Fromm of Lima, Ohio.

AT A WASHTENAW COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY MEETING November 27, 1946, Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Smith discussed "Genealogies and Source Material." Mr. Robert Brown of the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan spoke on "Treasures of the Clements Library" January 24. On February 26, 1947, four speakers reviewed the "History of Public Utilities in Ann Arbor."

A VARIED AND INTERESTING PROGRAM WAS OFFERED those who attended the history and political science section of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts and Letters, held at the University of Michigan, March 21-22, 1947. Four of the seven papers assembled by Dr. Roland H. Maybee, chairman of the section, related directly to Michigan. These were "The Detroit League of Women Voters," by Maurice M. Ramsey; "The Functions of Historical Organizations in Michigan," by Lewis Beeson; "Michigan's First State Supreme Court," by Clark F. Norton; and "The Morrill Land Grant in Michigan," by Madison Kuhn. Dwight C. Long discussed "Land Reform in East-Central Europe," Marshall M. Knappen "Current American Policy in Germany," and Bert E. O'Beirne "Recent Proposals to Amend the National Labor Policy."

IN DISCUSSING THE DEPARTMENTALIZATION OF THE MAIN LIBRARY in the *Eighty-first Annual Report of the Detroit Library Commission*,

Mr. Ralph A. Ulveling, the librarian of the Detroit Public Library, states that "it has become increasingly evident that two extensive fields, History and Literature, cannot be adequately developed or properly serviced as mere segments of a much broader general department. Each should be organized as a separate unit with specialized staffs, catalogs, and indexes." With the elevation of history and literature to departmental status, and the creation of a department of education, philosophy, and religion, "the departmentalization of the Main Library will be completed from a subject standpoint," Mr. Ulveling declares, "and there will remain only the possible creation of a Rare Book Room for future consideration."

A "SAMPLING OF DETROIT'S HISTORY" IS BEING GIVEN READERS OF the *Municipal Employee* beginning with the April, 1947 issue by Mr. Frank Barcus of the City Plan Commission. Planned to continue indefinitely, the sampling consists of excerpts for each day of the year taken from Detroit newspapers of one hundred years ago. The initial installment covers the period from January first to February twelfth.

THE SMALL GRAND TRUNK RAILWAY STATION AT MT. CLEMENS where Thomas A. Edison learned telegraphy was the scene of a ceremony February 12, 1947 commemorating the centennial of his birth. To mark the building in which Edison learned the art of telegraphy, a bronze tablet, appropriately inscribed, was presented to the city of Mt. Clemens by the J. L. Hudson Company of Detroit. The dedication and unveiling ceremony was held under the auspices of the Mt. Clemens Board of Commerce and was attended by officials of the Detroit Edison Company, the Grand Trunk Railroad, civic leaders, and city officials of Mt. Clemens. The presentation of the tablet was made by Mr. Reuben Ryding, advertising manager of the J. L. Hudson Company. The plaque was accepted by Albert Wagner, mayor of Mt. Clemens.

AN ADDRESS ON "DOUGLASS HOUGHTON—FAMILY PHYSICIAN," by George W. Stark, presented at the twenty-second annual meeting of the Detroit Club, November 15, 1946, has been published in the February, 1947, issue of the *Alexander Blain Hospital Bulletin*.

THE FOUNDING OF AMHERSTBURG AND ITS LATER HISTORY is the subject of an article by David P. Botsford, curator of the Fort Malden

National Historic Museum, in the *Western Ontario Historical Notes* for September, 1946. The sesquicentennial of the establishment of Fort Amherstburg occurred July 11, 1946.

LIEUTENANT L. B. BAKER'S ACCOUNT OF THE DEATH and burial of J. Wilkes Booth is published in the December, 1946 issue of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*. The manuscript, which "seems never to have been printed before," came from Mrs. Don Berles of Grand Rapids, a granddaughter of Lieutenant Baker. Residents of Michigan will recall "Buckskin," Baker's horse, which was stuffed and on display at Lansing and Michigan State College.

AN INTIMATE ACCOUNT OF TARLETON, FREDERICK, JAMES, and Edward Bates, gleaned principally from their correspondence with each other and with relatives and friends, is furnished by Mrs. Elvert M. Davis in the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*. The initial installment in the March-June, 1946 issue deals with the period of Frederick Bates' residence at Detroit.

A FACSIMILE OF THE ORIGINAL PUBLISHED PROCEEDINGS of the first meeting in 1886 of the Michigan Schoolmasters' Club has been reproduced from the possibly unique surviving copy in the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan. Among the authors whose papers are printed in the proceedings are John Dewey, Fred Manville Taylor, Charles Henry Cole, LeRoy Halsey, Henry Romaine Pattengill, and Alexander Winchell. An introductory note by Joseph Ratner accompanies the facsimile edition.

THE RAY STANNARD BAKER COLLECTION OF BOOKS on bees, presented to Michigan State College in July, 1946, is described in *Friends of Library News* for Winter-Spring, 1947. The list of books in Mr. Baker's collection is arranged chronologically, the earliest book being Thomas Hyll's *A Pleasant Instruction of the Parfit Ordering of Bees* (1568).

LAND ABSTRACTS CAN BE FASCINATING READING, according to a story in the *Detroit Free Press* for February 16, 1947. By studying his abstract of title, the property owner can "find out where his land originated. He can uncover old family feuds and scandals. He can trace the skyrocketing of land value."

AN ARTICLE BY DR. FRED C. HAMIL on "Lord Selkirk in Upper Canada" appears in volume thirty-seven of the Ontario Historical Society *Papers and Records*. Selkirk's unsuccessful attempt to colonize Baldoon, near the passageway between Lakes Huron and St. Clair, is described.

PIONEER FARMING CONDITIONS IN MICHIGAN one hundred and ten years ago are described in a twenty-four page booklet on *The Life of William Fulton* published by his grandson, Merritt W. Fulton of Berkeley Springs, West Virginia. Written by another grandson, Sanford H. Fulton, in 1922, the biography describes Fulton's experiences on farms in the Detroit area.

THE RELATION OF THE REV. ALBERTUS C. VAN RAALTE to a Dutch immigrant group which settled in Milwaukee in 1846 is described by Henry S. Lucas in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* for December, 1946. In his article, Mr. Lucas makes clear that Wisconsin became "initially at least, the center of a steady flow of Dutch immigrants from the provinces of Zeeland and Gilderland from about 1845."

THE MIMEOGRAPHED FIRST REPORT on "Folklore Archives of Michigan State College," by Richard M. Dorson, appeared in January, 1947. The report lists and describes briefly the materials, including manuscripts, letters, newspapers, pamphlets, which have been deposited in the folklore archives of the college library.

A BRIEF "SUMMARY OF MICHIGAN EFFORTS to Achieve Reorganization" in county government is to be found in *Reorganization of Michigan's County Government*, published in 1946 as *Michigan Pamphlets*, number 19 by the bureau of government of the University of Michigan.

THE GROWTH OF INFORMATION ABOUT THE ANIMALS AND PLANTS of Washtenaw County is described by Dr. Alexander Grant Ruthven, president of the University of Michigan, in *Washtenaw Impressions* for September, 1946. The early contributions to the county's biological knowledge, Dr. Ruthven shows, came from the ranks of the amateurs as well as from professionals in the university's employ. It "is most unfortunate," Dr. Ruthven states, that "the amateurs have quite largely disappeared from the scene."

"THE JESUITS IN THE SAGINAW VALLEY" is the subject of an article in the September, 1946 issue of the *Totem Pole*. The November issue has an account of Na-qua-chic-a-ming, the Chippewa chief. "The relation of Michigan Petroglyphs to Others in the United States" is discussed in the December number.

AMONG THE ARTICLES IN *Inland Seas* for October, 1946 are "Glamantic Yantic," by Bert C. Brennan; "The Big Blow" on Lake Michigan in 1940, by T. O'Meara; "The Jackson Mine and Negaunee, Michigan," by R. A. Brotherton; and "The Dedication of Isle Royale National Park," by Donna L. Root.

"THE WRECK OF THE *Lady Elgin*" on Lake Michigan in 1860 is recounted by Dr. Dwight F. Clark in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* for December, 1946.

PART FOUR OF THE EXCELLENT SERIES on "The Pictorial Record of the Old West," which has been appearing in the *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, is devoted to "Custer's Last Stand." In the November, 1946 issue of the magazine, Dr. Robert Taft discusses "Custer's Last Rally," by John Mulvany, "Custer's Last Fight," by Cassily Adams, and the lithograph by Otto Becker, based on the Adams painting; and lists with brief descriptions, other pictorial records of the event. It is the author's belief that the Mulvany and Adams paintings have been "viewed, commented on and discussed by more people in this country" than have any others.

A GUIDE TO THE INDEXED NEWSPAPERS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1850-1900, by Herbert O. Brayer, appears in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for September, 1946. Michigan is represented in the guide by indexes reported by the Detroit and Flint public libraries.

THE MUSEUM HAS A TWO-FOLD TASK: interpreting "the cultural needs of the constituents in its specific field to the directors of the institution" and interpreting "the purpose and services of the museum to the public," according to Mr. Vernon Bobbitt in a discussion of "Salesmanship in Museum Exhibits" which appears in the *Quarterly of the Midwest Museums Conference* for January, 1947.

VOLUME TWENTY-THREE of the *Rochester Historical Society Publications* (Rochester, 1946) consists of two parts. Part one is a biography of Jane Marsh Parker by Marcelle Le Menager (Lane). Part two is composed of a number of documents relating to the water power facilities at Rochester. One of the documents, "The Flour Mills, and Flour Manufacture of Rochester," by Lewis Henry Morgan, was written in 1855, just before Morgan left for the Lake Superior region. It is prefaced by eight letters of Morgan to United States Commissioner of Patents Charles Mason. The Morgan documents are edited by Dr. Paul Kosok, who has made a systematic search of Morgan material for a biography on Morgan he has under way. The *Rochester Historical Society Publications*, edited by Dr. Blake McKelvey, assistant city historian, are a model for other city and, indeed, state historical societies.

ISAAC MCCOY AND HIS ROLE IN THE ESTABLISHMENT of Indian missions at Niles, Grand Rapids, and Sault Ste. Marie are mentioned in an article by Mr. Emory J. Lyons in the January, 1947 issue of the *Chronicle*.

THE EIGHTH VOLUME IN *The American Lakes Series*, edited by Milo M. Quaife, has been published by the Bobbs-Merrill Company. This is *The Great Salt Lake* by Dale L. Morgan.

MR. WILLARD C. WICKERS, director of the Netherlands Museum, Holland, and vice-president of the State Historical Society of Michigan, was elected vice-president for Michigan of the Midwest Museums Conference of the American Association of Museums at the annual meeting in Chicago, October 24-26, 1946. Michigan, with fifty-one members, leads the states comprising the conference. The annual meeting in 1947 will be held at Grand Rapids, October 17-18. Goals for 1947 set by the president, Mr. William C. McKern, director of the Milwaukee Public Museum, are an increased membership and an improved journal.

MR. RALPH F. WINDOES, a trustee of the State Historical Society and chairman of its committee on community celebrations, has sold his furniture business and entered a business in which he has been interested for some time—program booking. Mr. Windoes'

interest in Michigan and its history led him to do much lecturing before he disposed of his business. Now he is devoting his full time to what has been his hobby. In one of his lectures on West Michigan history before the Rotary Club of Traverse City in 1946, he reminded his audience that Traverse City would be one hundred years old this year. As a result, the people of Traverse City began planning for the centennial anniversary they will celebrate this summer.

HOW MANY COVERED BRIDGES ARE THERE IN MICHIGAN? The Michigan Historical Commission would like to know of existing covered bridges in the state. Anyone having information or pictures of covered bridges are requested to send the data in to the commission at Lansing. Glossy prints of bridges at Ada and Fallasburg are offered for sale by Eugene R. Bock of Anderson, Indiana in the December, 1946 issue of *Covered Bridge Topics*.

SUPPORT BY THE AMERICAN LEGION OF THE ESTABLISHMENT of local historical societies, expressed through its committee of education (see *ante*, 31:80-81), is augmented through a bulletin issued in March, 1947 and directed to post commanders by Arthur H. Clarke, chairman of the expansion and stabilization committee. Mr. Clarke urges legion posts to assist local historical activity by suggesting that "if you have the right man as your historian, he would be interested in bulletin number 5, dated January 17, put out by Chairman Floyd B. Haight, department committee on education, giving suggestions in regard to forming a historical society in your local community. The post-historian could follow out these suggestions, and thereby the legion would render a civic duty to its community."

Reviews of Books

The French-Canadian Outlook. By MASON WADE. (New York, The Viking Press, 1946. 192 p. \$2.00.)

Any book about the French-Canadians is bound to arouse interest in Michigan. Families dating from the old French days are still very much in evidence in Detroit and all along our eastern border. Curiously enough, a French-speaking habitant group has managed to preserve its integrity near Monroe up to recent times. And we have left with us many descendants of those French-Canadian migrants who helped lumber off our pine forests and then remained behind when the industry moved on to Wisconsin and Minnesota.

As Mr. Wade makes clear in his study, the French-Canadians are a unique ethnic group on the continent; he calls them the "unknown North Americans." For three hundred years and more they have constituted a colony that has become a definite entity of three and a half millions of people who have jealously retained their language, religion, and racial independence. We do not realize that fact on this side of the boundary, nor do we understand how tenaciously they cling to their origins and history. The motto of French Canada is *Je me souviens*—I Remember.

But while the people remember the glorious story of New France in the valley of the St. Lawrence, this past has begun to recede and slip away, and with it some of their traditions and habitant culture. The population of Quebec was once rural and agricultural; now it is preponderately urban, and Montreal, the metropolis of Canada, has absorbed almost half of it. Nothing shows the change that is coming over the land more than this. The industrial age, accelerated by both world wars, is at the door.

Still, while many things are shaking, one ancient and steadfast force endures—the hold of the church. Nowhere else in North America this side of the Rio Grande does such a theocratic way of life prevail. The cure from his *presbytere* still guides the thinking of his parish.

What does the future hold? According to Mr. Wade, "the special tragedy of Quebec is that its desire to be left to itself is probably stronger than ever before." And, as he goes on to say, no part of the world can go its own way now, aloof from outside influences. Will this conservative and distrustful folk of Lower Canada adjust themselves to new conditions? The question of schools and federal aid, social reforms, labor unions, economic changes, unemployment, emigration across the border—all these things and more are gnawing away at the fabric of French-Canadian isolation. The resultant problems are manifold.

And all these problems are bound up in the greater problem of how to get along with an Anglo-Saxon civilization side by side with their own, a

civilization in many respects hostile to it, one that threatens to dominate if not submerge it. This involves much give and take, for both peoples are stubborn about their inherited notions and applications of government. It has taken much constitutional struggle and nationalistic conflict to achieve a working concordat between these two so radically different cultures, but in the end it has been accomplished. A Canadian nation was established in 1867.

At last there are signs of a closer relationship as a result of Canada's valorous part in the great war. Men who fight side by side learn mutual tolerance and understanding. Mr. Wade closes his book on this note.

"To-day the great 'Quebec problem' is to broaden the base of that mutual understanding, on a realistic rather than on a diplomatic basis, and with mutual respect, for each group has something to give the other, and something to learn from the other. French and English will never be wholly one in Canada, but they can come to understand one another. . . . The problem of Canadian union is merely a special case of the great world problem of our time, for mankind must learn to be equal without being identical, if it is to survive."

Ypsilanti

R. CLYDE FORD

Land of Promise. By WALTER HAVIGHURST. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1946. viii, 384 p. \$3.00.)

"This is a book which I have long wished some one else would write." In these words from the book jacket Mr. Havighurst has echoed the sentiments of many of us. This is the book we have wanted. Here are many of the most colorful passages from the rich history that belongs to the Old Northwest. The author of *Long Ships Passing* could not fail to tell them well. Written to be read rather than to impress fellow scholars, *Land of Promise* will add to the growing interest in the traditions shared by those who live between the Great Lakes and the Ohio River.

While not designed to be a complete history, it does offer vivid narratives of many of the region's most characteristic developments. Much of the prosaic and oft-told account of Jesuit wanderings is omitted and in its place appears a sympathetic description of the neglected day-to-day struggle to persuade the Indian to accept Christianity. It was for this more than for exploration that the Jesuits entered the region. Similarly the reader may miss some of the time-honored French fur traders but he will be amply compensated by an understanding of the competition offered the canoe-borne traders from Quebec by the pack-horse traders from Pennsylvania. Pontiac's Conspiracy and the battles of Vincennes, Fallen Timbers, Tippecanoe, and Detroit are briefly told, but their significance for the American settler is emphasized by the point of view expressed in the author's apt remark that "the West had to be won again and again." The settlement of the region, as illustrated by those at Marietta, Gallipolis, and

the Scioto valley, may make for many readers the whole process of civilizing equally informing are the chapters on the National Road and on the steamboat, canal, and railroad booms. In one of the best chapters appear the short-lived utopian communities that sought to build a heaven on earth by removing man from the greed and strife believed inherent in a competitive society. In a rural, self-sufficient community, where all property would be held in common, and "all would share equally in labor and the fruits of labor," men might live at their best. Of the many that appeared in the region—Rappites, Mormons, Jansonists, Zoarites, Shakers, Icarians, and Fourierist "Phalanxes"—the best description is that of the cultured group assembled by Robert Owen at New Harmony, Indiana.

The Michigan reader may think sometimes that Mr. Havighurst has been too generous with the Ohio valley border of the Northwest Territory and too casual with the lakes border. The account of La Salle in Illinois and of Croghan in Ohio overshadows that of their more northerly contemporaries. The Ohio-Indiana campaigns of Clark, Wayne, Girty, Kenton, and Harrison may seem to occupy too large a part of the "winning of the west" and southern Ohio a disproportionate part of the settlement of the Northwest. The chapter on utopian communities omits the contemporary Beaver Island Mormons and another excellent chapter—on canals—dismisses the Clinton and the Soo with the amazing statement that in Michigan "canals were out of the question, as the principal rivers ran north and south." The Michigan reader's suspicion that the Northwest Territory has been redefined suddenly seems confirmed in the statement that George Rogers Clark, who left the forts at Niles, Mackinaw, and Detroit untouched, "had won the entire Northwest." Only in the final section—the inevitable travelogue—does Michigan receive much more than passing attention.

Perhaps we of Michigan have been inclined to overemphasize our own importance and ignore the five other states carved in part from the Northwest Territory. *Land of Promise* will prove a healthy bit of reading if it serves to remind us of the importance of those neighbors in the long years of French, British, and American trade, conquest, and settlement. And, as for Mr. Havighurst, we shall not soon forget the many stories of Michigan retold in his *Long Ships Passing*.

Michigan State College

MADISON KUHN

The Polish Immigrant in Detroit to 1914. By SISTER MARY REGIMA NAPOLSKA. (Chicago, Polish Roman Catholic Union of America, 1946. 110 p.)

Next to the Canadians, possibly the Poles are the most numerous of foreign-born groups in Michigan. It is a well established fact that Polish immigrants to the United States have a predilection for cities and for Detroit in particular. This little book is a welcome addition to our meager

knowledge of the adaptation of a relatively recent immigrant group to American urban conditions.

The Polish Immigrant to Detroit is the product of a master's thesis at the University of Notre Dame in 1943. It is abundantly documented. This study is quite similar to those made recently of Poles in Texas, California, New York, Virginia, and Kentucky. Such studies are facilitated by the establishment in 1935 of the archives and museum of the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America for the collection of materials pertaining to the history of the Poles in the United States.

Sister Napolska first presents a brief historical review of the immigration of the Poles to United States and more specifically to Detroit, and then devotes four chapters to their economic, political, social, and religious activities and organizations in Detroit. By 1914, the Polish population numbered between 110,000 and 120,000, comprising about twenty-four per cent of the total population of the fourth largest city in this country. This report, in a scholarly way, indicates some of the effects of a large automobile, foundry, and machine shop city on our Polish immigrants.

Occupationally, the Poles displaced the Germans as the "backbone" of Detroit's industry, and were, in turn, gradually displaced since 1900 by Italians and Hungarians. The Pole's affiliation with organized labor in Detroit was slow, despite the fact that, as a whole, this ethnic group was one of the lowest paid. The Polish press advocated the formation of union locals composed exclusively of Poles. One such ethnic group was formed in 1911 with the organization of a Polish local of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. Polish business, industrial, and commercial enterprises, principally small enterprises, gradually increased in number, totaling twenty-five hundred by 1914.

Scores of Polish organizations and societies thrive in Detroit, such as political, dramatic, literary, gymnastic, musical, educational, benevolent, and occupational. Brief accounts of many are given. These organizations tend to perpetuate the Polish language, and the cultural and ethnic solidarity of the Poles, yet, like the Polish press, they can be essential and satisfactory instruments in the assimilation and Americanization processes. Some hundred and fifty names of Polish pioneers in the city's business, industry, professions, and politics are noted. Poles seem particularly interested in politics. This proclivity is probably a by-product of their interest in the liberation of Poland from Russian influences. In 1897, there was formed in Detroit a political league for the purpose of promoting the election of Polish candidates to office.

Next to Connecticut, Michigan has the largest proportion of Polish population. There are at least sixty-five Polish settlements in the rural areas of this state. Michigan promises to be an interesting field for the study of ethnic settlements, particularly the Poles.

Michigan State College

J. F. THADEN

Memories of the Lakes. By DANA THOMAS BOWEN. (Daytona Beach, Dana Thomas Bowen, 1946. xv, 292 p. Illustrations. \$4.50.)

This book augments Mr. Bowen's outstanding contribution of seven years ago to Great Lakes history. His earlier work, *Lore of the Lakes*, was the first of a sizable group of interesting volumes by different authors, all pertaining to the inland seas. Before 1940 the Great Lakes had appeared in literature in only a few old authoritative texts, such as J. B. Mansfield's encyclopedic *History of the Great Lakes* in 1899, James Cooke Mills' *Our Inland Seas* in 1910, and Edward Channing and Marion Florence Lansing's *The Story of the Great Lakes* in 1912. However, immediately upon the popular reception of Mr. Bowen's first book, there came forth nearly a dozen other works, including the first five volumes of the *American Lakes Series*, the sum total of which have finally given the Great Lakes that literature which their historical richness had so long deserved and sought. Obviously much credit is due Mr. Bowen for his part in initiating this renaissance.

Memories of the Lakes is a worth while addition to this fresh water bookshelf. A pleasant style and the introduction of many narratives and personal recollections enhances the interest of the volume. The author states that the book is "a collection of historic tales of the lakes and their ships . . . many retold from personal interviews." In the first two chapters he asks questions and gives the answers. Following this are interesting accounts of ships, persons, and places. The thoroughness of the description of many types of vessels, such as, for example, "The Old Lakes Triplets," "The Whalebacks," "The Flyer of the Lakes," "The *Our Son*," "The *Success*," and others, will be admired and appreciated by historians and collectors. The storm of 1905 is given an exhaustive and detailed treatment, phrased as the personal narrative of a captain whose ship rode it out. This account pairs off excellently with Bowen's description of the great storm of 1913, told in *Lore of the Lakes*. Chapters entitled "The Milan Canal," "Kafalu," and "High Spots in Georgian Bay" are bits of local color and lore well told and keenly informative. In his earlier book the author had presented many tales of ships that sailed away, never to be heard from again. In the present volume he adds a similar story, that of the wooden freighter *Kaliyuga* which vanished on Lake Huron. Throughout the new book there is a close interrelation with the author's earlier volume.

Mr. Bowen introduces again the pictorial section, a feature which pleased so many readers of *Lore of the Lakes*. "Memories of the Lakes in Pictures," chapter 10, contains nearly one hundred pictures of ships which once sailed the Great Lakes. The selection and variety of this group will make many a collector's mouth water.

Throughout the book we are reminded of this very noteworthy fact, namely, that, when we deal with the ships of our lakes, we are dealing

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Throughout the book we are reminded of this very noteworthy fact, namely, that, when we deal with the ships of our lakes, we are dealing

with past history rather than present. Mr. Bowen is preserving this past for us, a deed for which he deserves all thanks.

The author has indicated his intention of continuing the series with a third volume at some future date. As we have enjoyed his work of the past and the present, we look forward with avid anticipation to his future offering. When this becomes a reality we suggest that the end papers be more clearly printed, and that the accompanying map be better centered. As it appears now, the western extremity of the Great Lakes is cut off. Also, despite the author's efforts properly to accredit the photographs used, there are still some illustrations with no credit line, whose source experienced collectors will recognize. Other prints are accredited only to the collection or person from whom they were received or borrowed, and not to the original photographer, or at least to the present possessor of the negative or plate. In *Memories of the Lakes* there appear more frequently pictures of and references to Lake Michigan vessels, and this is an improvement over *Lore of the Lakes*. We would like to see a picture or two of the better known steamships of Lake Michigan's bygone days, such ships as the *Manitou*, *Virginia*, *City of South Haven*, or *Nyack*. A truly Great Lakes invention, the railway ferries, are conspicuously absent. The appeal of this excellent work would have been widened with a word or a few pictures about the ships and men of Lake Ontario.

University of Detroit

REV. EDWARD J. DOWLING, S. J.

The History of the Church of the Brethren in Michigan. By WALTER M. YOUNG. (Elgin, Brethren Publishing House, 1946. 352 p. Illustrations.)

Among the various religious bodies of biblico-pietistical origin and character, the Church of the Brethren (formerly often called Dunkers, Dunkards, and Tunkers) is one of the least well known. While there are careful investigations relating to structure, development, and changes of almost every kind of Mennonites, Schwenkfelders, Baptists, Calvinists, and of combinations of the two latter, the same is not true of the religious body under consideration. Although it is of German pietistical origin, neither Ritschl's classical *History of Pietism* nor Troeltsch's *Social Teaching of Christian Churches* even mention it. Under such circumstances one will welcome a new publication dealing with the Church of the Brethren, written by one of her ministers.

The author had at his disposal a large quantity of original source material, such as the records of district boards and other organizations, personal interviews, and a questionnaire used to obtain information from ministers and lay workers for the biographical chapters. He restricts himself strictly to Michigan and seems to intend primarily to help his co-religious workers to become familiar with their own church body. So far, so good. Nevertheless, the reader who is not a member of that church, will be somewhat

disappointed since only a relatively few pages deal with general matters. Among them there is a short declaration of faith. Here we find phenomena such as these: "Baptism of penitent believers by immersion for the remission of sins," feetwashing, "anointing for healing in the name of the Lord," and opposition to oath, war, "violence in personal and industrial controversy," and "going to law." Moreover, we find a record of meetings and boards, but nothing about origin, uniqueness, struggles, and splits occurring, acceptance or rejection of articles of faith and organization. As opposed to this kind of general content, 239 pages contain biographical sketches and histories of local congregations.

Thus, the reader himself is forced to pick out phenomena of a more universal character. Among them he will find the following. (1) The lay preacher, who did not receive a lengthy theological training, played an important role for a long time. (2) Some services have the character of revivalistic services with the aim of winning new members. (3) The recruitment of the membership accordingly occurs not exclusively by embodying children of members, but likewise by conversion from other denominations such as Lutheranism or from religious indifference. (4) The work needed by the group, for example, the raising of church buildings or the purchase of a farm, to support the parson, is largely accomplished voluntarily by members themselves. All this means actually a maintenance of ways of life which have existed since the beginning of this body.

Other phenomena denote deviations from the original idea. By the former generations they would have been considered as proof of a secularized mentality. Such ones are the following. (1) Some members have participated in city councils of religious education and in public affairs committees of the council of churches, that is, have collaborated with representatives of other, less rigorous, churches. (2) While originally there did exist feeling against high schools and colleges, because of their connection with secular sciences, now members study not only in institutions supported by their own church, but also in others, such as Michigan State College. (3) The same change in feeling has occurred in the attitude toward music. Even Handel's "Messiah" has been performed under the conductorship of a member. (4) The same Church and the same book, which "opposes on Scriptural ground war," registers on page 81 the fact that "64 young men and 3 girls are in the service of their country . . . and 4 have made the supreme sacrifice of their life on the battlefield." All these are proof of assimilation into a changed surrounding world.

The phenomena mentioned do not exclusively characterize this church, but rather may be considered typical of a special kind of religious body. Opposition to war, oath, and going to law, as well as belief in baptism of penitent believers, i. e., of persons, supposedly already sufficiently mature to show repentance—all that characterizes, historically speaking, every group which descends directly or indirectly from the Anabaptistical groups

of the reformational period. Moreover, all that characterizes that kind of group which opposes the attempt of building up of the Kingdom of God on earth by using violence, and simultaneously any accommodation to the unholy surrounding world, and which accordingly can only last as a world-escaping tolerated sect. On the other hand, such facts as collaboration with other denominations or acceptance of science and music of the surrounding world mean nothing but the shifting from world-avoiding "sect" to "church," as happens regularly with an almost mathematical predictability.

It is unfortunate, that the reader himself must pick out these phenomena from the book. It is to be hoped that the author will not stop working in this field. Having so much material at hand, he should use it to write a supplement containing a history of the inner conflicts, changes, and splits in his church. Such a publication would even more than this one be welcomed, not only by Michigan residents, but also by everyone interested in the sociology of religion.

Michigan State College

PAUL HONIGSHEIM

Arsenal of Democracy: The Story of American War Production. By DONALD NELSON. (New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1946. 439 p. \$4.00.)

This book summarizes the history of American war production from the uncertain days of 1940 (when such effort was termed defense) to the summer of 1944 when the author relinquished the chairmanship of the War Production Board to become the American envoy to China. Mr. Nelson limits his study by insisting that he is trying "to tell, from a unique vantage point, the story of American war production as I saw it unfold for I realize that the whole story is too big to be told in full by any one man." The result is a volume easy to read and interspersed with refreshing anecdotes.

Approximately one-half of the book deals with the period prior to Pearl Harbor. The author apparently justifies this allotment, which might seem to indicate a lack of proportion, by attempting to remind the reader of the difficulties of "getting started" in war production. The period of the war proper is divided into chapters dealing with some of the major war needs and production problems. The reader gains an unusually clear impression of the difficulties and crippling results arising from the rubber shortage. The entire system of allotments and priorities is explained and interpreted almost to the point of oversimplification. The chapter on reconversion is both analytical and suggestive. There are numerous interesting accounts of Mr. Nelson's meetings with President Roosevelt.

Michigan readers will be particularly interested in the occasional references to the automobile industry. The author refers to the most significant meetings in which the automotive magnates made plans to turn to the

manufacture of aircraft and other war materials. Numerous personalities associated with the state's industrial history are brought into the picture.

The volume, however, suffers from certain fundamental weaknesses. The section on labor and management is far too general. Statistical material is rarely included and the few occasions when it appears it is given in a somewhat undigested form. There is virtually no mention at all of the many controversies with personalities and departments, although the author, on many occasions, criticizes the military (even here he is very indefinite). Many of the personalities mentioned are not adequately identified. The task and role of each individual or industry likewise does not stand out with sufficient prominence. If the volume is intended, even partially, as a guide for future M-Day procedure, its inadequacy is further reflected.

Nevertheless, the *Arsenal of Democracy* is an otherwise good book. It gives a rather complete outline of the steps that actually were pursued (although according to the author's statements some could have been avoided). The volume is well organized and its semi-journalistic style will enable thousands to read it with advantage. Mr. Nelson's faith in democratic processes, including the ability to produce on a huge scale in an emergency, is a refreshing point of view.

Wayne University

SIDNEY GLAZER

News and Comment

THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR STATE AND LOCAL HISTORY and the Society of American Archivists held their annual meetings at the National Archives, Washington, D. C., October 24-26, 1946. The American University and the Catholic University of America were hosts for the two dinner meetings. Mr. S. K. Stevens, state historian, Pennsylvania State Historical and Museum Commission, was elected president of the American Association for State and Local History. Dr. Solon J. Buck, archivist of the United States, was re-elected president of the Society of American Archivists. A new constitution, adding four regional vice-presidencies and establishing new classifications of memberships, was adopted by the American Association for State and Local History. "New Approaches in Local History" was the program topic at the joint meeting December 27, 1946, in New York, of the association and the American Historical Association.

The third summer training course in the preservation and administration of archives for custodians of public, institutional, and business archives will be offered by the American University in Washington, D. C., with the co-operation of the National Archives and the Maryland Hall of Records from July 28 through August 23, 1947. The program will provide lectures on the most important phases of work with archives and manuscripts, demonstrations, group conferences, and practical work in such fields as arrangement and description of archival and manuscript material, repair and preservation, cataloging, and photoduplication.

The presidents and directors of the various New England state historical societies are effecting an organization to co-operate with the New England Council, representing the business interests of the region, in an effort to bring about a better understanding between historians and business. According to Leon S. Gay in the *Bulletin of the Business Historical Society* for February, 1947, the objective of the two groups is to find means whereby better histories of business, particularly those of the local business firm, may be compiled and published.

The State Historical Society of Colorado, working in conjunction with the San Luis Valley Historical Association, has completed plans for the restoration of Fort Garland and will ask the next legislature for \$47,000 for reconstruction and administrative purposes, according to the *Colorado Magazine* for September, 1946.

Governor Ralph F. Gates has approved the Indiana War History Commission's request for an annual appropriation of \$25,000 with which to prepare and publish accounts of Indiana's role in the war. Eight or nine volumes will be required to tell the full story of what Indiana did in the war and what the war did to Indiana.

Under the direction of Mr. Howard Peckham, the thirty-first year of the Indiana Historical Bureau was marked by an enlarged publishing program. The circulation of the monthly *Indiana History Bulletin* was doubled; five four-page illustrated historical leaflets were prepared for use by school children; the bureau undertook the printing of *Hoosier Folklore* for the Hoosier Folklore Society; volume twenty-eight of the *Indiana Historical Collections*, Dr. Cedric C. Cummins' *Indiana Public Opinion and the World War, 1914-17*, was published; and several publications publicizing the bureau or the state were issued. Circulation of the *Indiana History Bulletin* is now 4500 copies a month. One issue, which was devoted to a state historical almanac, proved so popular that 17,000 copies were distributed. The historical leaflets for school children dealt with "The First People in Indiana," "The French in Indiana," "Pioneer Living in Indiana," "Travel in Indiana Long Ago," and "Good Times of Young Pioneers." *Two Old Views of the Fair*, a leaflet reproducing two pictures of the Indiana State Fair in the 1870's and describing "What Your Historical Bureau Does," has been published by the bureau. An excellent thirty-two page *Brief History of Indiana* made its appearance in 1946. Together with the Indiana Department of Conservation and the Indiana Department of Commerce and Public Relations, the Historical Bureau has published an illustrated folder for tourists, *See Indiana. The Undying Past and Other Addresses*, a memorial to Christopher Bush Coleman, was published by the Indiana State Library and Historical Bureau and the Indiana Historical Society. The book contains twelve papers by Dr. Coleman, a biographical sketch, and two portraits.

The Texas State Historical Association has received a grant of \$5,000 from Mr. Henry B. DuPont for the research on and the writing of a book on the natural history and physical features of the Big Bend region. Mr. Dudley Dobie of Southwest Texas State Teachers College has been engaged to carry out the project. According to the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* for January, 1947, Mr. DuPont became interested in the Big Bend country while flying over it, and has made two boat trips through the canyons of the Rio Grande in that area.

Through mutual agreement, the Virginia Historical Society and the Confederate Memorial Association effected a merger August 30, 1946. By this fusion the society acquired "Battle Abbey" in Richmond, a building of dignity and beauty built as a Confederate memorial.

Projects which "can form the nucleus of a long range program of activities" for the West Virginia Historical Society are outlined by Ross B. Johnston in the January, 1947 issue of *West Virginia History*. These consist of "the recognition and preservation of the existing historic landmarks, proper marking of the scenes of past events, preservation of valuable documents, the need to publish material worthy of general distribu-

tion, and the taking of steps to give more direct and more aggressive support to the State Department of Archives and History."

Useful for those interested in railroad history is *A Check-list of Railway Literature for Adults*, published by the Association of American Railroads as *Railway Information Series*, number 13. A list of thirty-four books pertaining to nearly every railroad subject, reprinted from the *San Francisco Chronicle* for March 31, 1946, is supplemented by a list of titles published since 1920 compiled by the association. The list omits Paul W. Gates' significant study, *The Illinois Central and Its Colonization Work*.

Probably more than ten million cubic feet of records were produced by federal agencies during World War II according to the *Twelfth Annual Report of the Archivist of the United States*. There is no doubt that this war was incomparably better recorded than any previous war. In fact, so many records were produced that, were they all to be permanently preserved, they would constitute so gargantuan a mass as to be unusable. Thus the problem of the national archivist is to reduce the bulk of the war records without destroying those having most future utility. Steps taken to achieve this end are outlined in the report.

In reporting in the *Canadian Historical Review* for December, 1946 upon "Archaeological Work in Huronia, 1946: Excavations near Warminster," Ontario, Mr. T. F. McIlwraith states that the evidence uncovered points to the conclusion "that the Warminster site was that of a large Huron village occupied at the time of early European contact, but abandoned before the Jesuit period."

The plea that children's interests be recognized and utilized in the teaching of history is made by W. Linwood Chase in the *Education Digest* for February, 1947. Although "the selection of sound and basic texts in history is of primary importance," Mr. Chase states, "each child's experiences offer channels for extending the individual's understanding" which should be made use of in the teaching process.

A textbook on "Organizing a New State Archives Department," is compressed into eight pages in *Illinois Libraries* for December, 1946 by Miss Margaret C. Norton, archivist for the state of Illinois. Miss Norton's article, though directed to the person organizing a new state archival agency, contains much of value to all who are engaged in archives administration.

A lively discussion of Federal land grant policy has resulted from the publication of Robert S. Henry's "The Railroad Land Grant Legend in American History Texts" in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for September, 1945. Comments on the article pro and con in the March, 1946 issue of the review were followed by a section discussion of the topic at the annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Society in April. Papers by David Maldwyn Ellis and Charles S. Morgan, critical of the

Henry thesis, were read and were answered by Mr. Henry. Mr. Morgan's paper appears in the December, 1946 issue of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*.

The October, 1946 issue of *North Dakota History* is devoted to "The Historical Significance of Fort Lincoln State Park," by Arnold O. Goplen. The article was written in 1938 in connection with the restoration of parts of Fort Abraham Lincoln by the Works Progress Administration. A picture of General George A. Custer, who commanded the fort in 1873-74, forms one of the illustrations.

Ohio's Historical Society is an attractive, well-illustrated booklet of thirty-two pages published in 1946 by the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. In it the society's activities in maintaining the Ohio State Museum, a specialized historical library, and fifty state memorials; promoting research in Ohio history, archaeology, and natural history; publishing books, pamphlets, and periodicals; furnishing collections of visual aids to children and adults; and offering radio and lecture programs are briefly described. The society's visual aids collections consist of objects, photographs, and slides on Ohio archaeology, insects, birds and other animals, minerals, history, and the life of the pioneer. During the past years these sets have reached an average of over fifty thousand students each year.

Two war history bulletins have ceased publication. The last issue of the Ohio War Commission's *Communikay* appeared in December, 1946 with a resume of the very creditable activities of the commission. The Ohio commission expects to complete the collecting phase of its program by the end of 1947, following which it hopes to sponsor a collaborative study of Ohio in World War II. The *War Historian*, published by the American Association for State and Local History, suspended publication with the February, 1947 issue. The last three issues of the *War Historian* were devoted to summaries of state war records programs.

Three articles on the medical history of Ohio are presented in the October-December, 1946 issue of the *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*. Two new sections are introduced in this issue: a list of published writings on Ohio history for the year, and news notes on the historical activities in the state. The January, 1947 issue, with James H. Rodabaugh as acting editor, appears in a new and attractive cover.

In an address before a special convocation at Yale University, Lawrence C. Wroth justifies the value to the modern world of the antiquarianism which creates great collections, whether of art, natural history, science, or history. The thing which distinguishes the great collector from the casual hobbyist is "the passion to know the past, to understand it, and to bring order out of its confusion." Mr. Wroth's address is printed in *Rhode Island History* for January, 1947.

Accounts of the observances held in connection with the sesquicentennial of the admission of Tennessee to the Union is given in the *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* for December, 1946. The official ceremonies marking the anniversary were held at Nashville May 30 to June 3, 1946. Ceremonies in observance of the event elsewhere in the state and in Washington, D. C. are described.

The project for a comprehensive encyclopedia of Texas history, biography, and culture came one step nearer fruition with the publication by the Texas State Historical Association of *A Tentative List of Subjects for the Handbook of Texas*. Initiated by Walter Prescott Webb in 1940, the handbook is planned to cover history, anthropology, geology, botany, business, industry, literature, folklore, and arts. The tentative list of subjects now presented for criticism and revision amounts to more than twelve thousand items. The *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* for January, 1947 reports that the handbook is about one-fourth complete. When finished, the handbook will be published in three volumes.

An attractive, well-illustrated booklet of fifty-six pages, *United States-Canada Boundary Treaty Centennial 1846-1946*, commemorating the signing of the treaty between the United States and England, fixing the boundary from the summit of the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean has been published by the department of conservation and development of the State of Washington and the department of trade and industry of the Province of British Columbia. The booklet, which is sponsored by the British Columbia Historical Association, the Washington State Historical Society, and the Peace Arch Association, presents a general review of the history leading up to the final treaty negotiations, a description of the treaty negotiations from the American point of view, and an account of the negotiations as they developed in Great Britain. Pictures of and addresses delivered at the dedication of the International Peace Arch (see *ante*, 31:119) are included in the booklet.

The new director of the Western Reserve Historical Society is Dr. Russell H. Anderson, who, since 1929, has been associated with the Museum of Science and Industry in Chicago.

Mr. Ora Williams, curator of the Iowa State Department of History and Archives since 1939, resigned December 31, 1946.

The retirement of Henry C. Shetrone as director of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society occurred January 1, 1947. Mr. Shetrone pioneered in the field of Ohio archaeology. His chief publications are *Certain Mounds and Village Sites in Ohio* with William C. Mills, and *The Mound-Builders*. He was associated with the Ohio society for thirty-three years.

Contributors

For many years Dr. Milo M. Quaife, secretary of the Burton Historical Collection in the Detroit Public Library, has followed the literature on the Kensington rune stone with interest. He made a notable contribution to it some years ago in an article in the *New England Quarterly*. Dr. Quaife needs no introduction to the readers of *Michigan History*. As the author of numerous books, an editor of note, and a former president of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, his position in the scholarly world adds weight to the point of view toward the Kensington stone expressed in the present article.

The Rev. Edward J. Dowling, author of the article on lake shipping in this issue, teaches engineering drawing at the University of Detroit. Father Dowling was graduated from Loyola University in 1930 and entered the Society of Jesus that same year. He was ordained in 1940. His avocation is the history of transportation on the Great Lakes. His article on the Graham and Morton Transportation Company was read as a paper before the Marine Historical Society of Detroit, of which he is a member, January 29, 1947.

RICHARD C. HULBERT's first experience in the lumber business was as chore boy, timekeeper, wood cutter, and bookkeeper at his father's logging camp at Hulbert. He got into the lumber business for himself by trading in and logging small tracts of pine timber in the Taquamenon country. This business was expanded when Abram M. Chesbrough became a partner and furnished cash for larger purchases and operations, which were carried on under the firm name of Hulbert and Chesbrough. Later Mr. Hulbert acquired an interest in timberland in Mississippi with James E. Danaher. In 1906 he and Ray E. Danaher engaged in timber investment, trading, and logging on the West Coast, with offices in Vancouver, British Columbia. James E. Danaher joined the firm of Danaher and Hulbert, Ltd. in 1907. In 1911, Mr. Hulbert moved to Portland, Oregon, where he conducted his business until he disposed of his western holdings. In 1919, he moved back to northern Michigan, where he still had property interests. Mr. Hulbert spends the summer months in the Upper Peninsula. The rest of the year he resides at Pensacola, Florida. His article on "Pioneers at Hulbert" reviews his youthful experiences in the timberlands of northern Michigan.

"ALTHOUGH I have only in the last few years become especially interested in Michigan's literary past, I have been astonished at the almost utter absence of attention to our early literary figures" writes Dr. Carl E. Burklund. "It seems to me that there are a number of them much too good

intrinsically or much too important historically to be thus neglected, and I have hoped in a modest way to bring some of them to light again. I feel rather earnestly that the pioneers in our literary development are quite as important in the record of our state as the pioneers in any other field." The editor concurs with these views of Professor Burklund. Readers of the magazine will recall Mr. Burklund's previous article on an early "unhonored and unsung" Michigan poet, Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, which appeared in the April-June, 1946 issue.

As the University of Michigan's war historian, Dr. F. Clever Bald has made an extensive study and is preparing a comprehensive report of the activities of the university during World War II. An account by him of the mobilization of the university's resources and shift of programs which occurred after the outbreak of hostilities was published in the autumn, 1946 issue of the *Michigan Alumnus Quarterly Review*. Dr. Bald received the Ph. D. from the University of Michigan in 1943, when he became instructor in history, receiving his appointment as war historian shortly thereafter.

Dr. Gerald L. Poor, whose account of early schools appears in the "Local History and the School" section of this issue, teaches in the department of psychology and education at Central Michigan College of Education. Before receiving his Ph.D. in 1943, Dr. Poor taught in the public schools of Michigan and was principal and superintendent of schools in Grayling.

